

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

PART III: 1714—1934

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended, in the first place, for the use of pupils in the middle and upper forms of schools, but it will also be of value to others who are seeking an outline of the history of England to form a basis for further, or specialised, reading.

The authors have attempted, throughout, to treat history not merely as a narrative of events, but in such a way that the connection between cause and effect is definitely shown. It is clearly indicated that the various developments of the story have a correlated meaning, that the history of any country is in fact a continuous growth, its institutions being constantly changing and developing organisms, and that the present, however superficially different, has been moulded by the past, and cannot be understood unless that past is known and appreciated.

The main thread of the story is of course the history of England itself from the successive waves of invasion that went to the making of the English people, onward through the development of religious, social, and political institutions, to modern times. But the history of a nation cannot be isolated from world history, and England, more than other countries perhaps, has always been closely mixed in world affairs. A good deal of space has been given, therefore, to European history in order to place English foreign policy in its proper context. In the same way, though English colonisation has been treated in more detail than that of other nations, the penetration and division of the world by the other European Nations has been traced, particularly in the case of Africa and the Far East.

The history of the self-governing Dominions has been sketched, and some prominence given to India and its problems. Moreover—a subject surprisingly neglected in many textbooks—an attempt has been made to deal with the expansion, during the last and present century, of the United States of America, and with the history of China since the western nations began their penetration of that country.

For some of the many illustrations incorporated in the work thanks are due to the Keeper and Secretary of the London Museum, the Manchester Corporation, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the Public Record Office.

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PART III—(1714–1934)

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE HANOVERIAN SUCCESSION AND THE RULE OF WALPOLE

THE WHIGS AND THE SUCCESSION

The accession of George I was one of those important events that seem to happen almost by chance. The Revolution, which drove James II. from the throne, made it necessary to decide who was to succeed his daughters, Mary and Anne. The Act of Settlement arranged that, if Mary and Anne had no children, the English Crown should go to a granddaughter of James I, Sophia of Hanover, and her heirs. But the country could scarcely feel enthusiastic over the prospect of a German ruler, and there is no doubt that a great many Englishmen would have preferred James Edward Stuart, known as the "Old Pretender," the son of the exiled James II.

Before the death of Queen Anne, the succession had become a party matter. The Whigs supported the claim of Sophia's son, George, Elector of Hanover, and the Tory leader, Bolingbroke, was making arrangements for a Stuart restoration. Bolingbroke had the support of only a section of his party, for its other leader, Harley, and his followers, objected to placing a Catholic on the throne. But Bolingbroke was in office, and it seemed that he might very well carry out his design. Then chance and a bold piece of Whig policy defeated him.

When the Whigs were in despair, and some of their leaders were making ready for another civil war, Queen Anne had a stroke, and it was evident that she might die at any moment. This calamity caught Bolingbroke before his arrangements for placing the Pretender on the throne were complete. The Whigs acted promptly. Two of their leaders, the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, persuaded the wavering ministry to uphold the Hanoverian succession. George was sent for, and measures taken to prevent any resistance. So the new king hurried over to take possession of the throne, which he had so nearly lost altogether (1714).

THE "FIFTEEN" RISING

Bolingbroke left the country, and the government passed into the hands of the Whigs. But George was still far from being secure. The Pretender had the support of France, and the sympathy of other foreign countries. The greater part of Scotland would have preferred a Stuart ruler, and there had been plotting in England, which led to the passing of the famous Riot Act (1714). This Act made it definitely legal for magistrates



GEORGE I

to order soldiers to fire on a mob which had not dispersed within an hour after the reading of an order to do so. James Edward and Bolingbroke, who had joined him abroad, saw the value of swift action. They set about the task of organising the Jacobite rising of 1715, usually known, because of its date, as the "Fifteen."

Plans were made for risings in different places: the north of England, the south-west, where the Duke of Ormonde was to land, the Scottish Highlands, where the clans might be raised,

and Wales. In Scotland the Pretender himself was to appear. A scheme like this was difficult to carry out. The Welsh rising never took place. Ormonde found that the Whigs knew of his plans, and had taken effective steps to prevent rebellion in the south-west. But the Highland clans were raised by the Earl of



THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN

Gooch

Mar, and the gentry of the north by the Earl of Derwentwater and a Mr Forster. If these two armies had united, success might have been achieved, but Mar missed his opportunity, and left Forster to be defeated at Preston, while he was defeated at Sheriffmun. The rising failed before the Pretender arrived at the end of the year, and he left the country after a few weeks.

If the Jacobites had had an efficient general, the "Fifteen" might very well have driven George off the throne. Its failure left a Stuart restoration still possible, and years of Jacobite intrigue and plotting followed—sordid in some cases, noble and devoted in others. The Hanoverian kings were not of a type to excite personal loyalty in their subjects, and the exiled Stuarts were much more attractive to romantic minds. But, though Jacobitism was strong in Scotland, in England the more influential classes, the landowners and merchants, did not wish for the return of the Stuarts. The powerful Whigs preferred a German king, who left them to rule the nation in their own interests. Also they had money invested in the National Debt, and feared that they might lose it if a change of monarchy took place. The Whig minister, Walpole, gave England a period of peace and prosperity that made people content with things as they were. So it was not till England was once more engaged in a European war, the War of the Austrian Succession, that another Jacobite rebellion, the "Forty-five," occurred (1745).

THE "FORTY-FIVE" RISING

The "Forty-five" is associated with the name of a young man of twenty-five, the Old Pretender's son, Charles Edward Stuart, the "Young Pretender," whom the Scots nicknamed "Bonny Prince Charlie." Seizing his opportunity when the English army was fighting abroad, he landed in the western Highlands, at Moidart (1745) with only seven companions. The Highland clans at first hung back from so wild an adventure, but they were attracted finally by its gallantry. With an army of Highlanders Charles Edward evaded the English commander, Sir John Cope, and seized Edinburgh. The establishment of a Stuart in the Scottish capital was impressive, and it was followed by the defeat of Cope's army by the Highlanders at Prestonpans. The news put the English Government into a state of panic, for they lacked the troops necessary to deal with the rebellion.

Charles Edward grasped the situation clearly, and wanted to advance into England without delay. But his advisers kept him for six weeks in Edinburgh, and when the march into England began, troops had already been recalled from abroad to meet it. The Jacobites reached Derby, and the news threw London into a state of terror, causing a run on the Bank of England. Even

now, to have continued to advance might have given the Prince a chance of success, but his advisers once more interfered and insisted upon a retreat.

This doomed the rebellion to failure. It had received scarcely any support in England, and as the Jacobite army retreated, its men deserted in large numbers. It was pursued by the English army under the Duke of Cumberland, and decisively defeated at Culloden Moor (1746) near Inverness. The harrying of the clans that followed gained for Cumberland the nickname of the "Butcher." The Prince, though he wandered for months in the Highlands, finally escaped to France.

The failure of this rising killed the Jacobite cause, and made the Hanoverians secure. The Highland chiefs were deprived of their authority. Highlanders were forbidden their bagpipes and their national dress, nor were they allowed to possess arms. But relief was found from this repression when Pitt saw the value of Highlanders as fighters, and raised Highland regiments to fight against the French in America.

GEORGE I DEVELOPMENT OF THE "CABINET"

The Hanoverian king whom the Whigs had placed upon the throne was an extremely unattractive person. George I. had neither dignity nor good looks. His private life was scandalous, and he kept his wife, a much more interesting person, in prison for years. He had little ability, and never troubled to learn to speak English. Since his ministers knew no German, his conversations with them were carried on in bad Latin. He knew little of English politics, and cared mostly for his Electorate of Hanover. For this reason he was exactly the sort of king the Whigs desired, for he left them to rule the country as they pleased.

Although he himself did little, the accession and character of George I. had important effects. His lack of interest in English affairs made it certain that Parliament and not the King would continue to govern the country. Since he had been placed upon the throne by the Whigs and suspected all Tories of Jacobitism he chose Whig ministers, so England embarked upon a long period of Whig government. Lastly, the King's lack of knowledge of the English language and of English politics played

an important part in the development of Cabinet government, and of the office of Prime Minister.

The development of the modern system of Cabinet government was gradual. In theory the King was advised by his whole Council, but kings had always been inclined to give special trust and authority to one or more of their ministers. Charles II's habit of neglecting the Council and governing with the aid of a few chosen ministers led to the formation of the "Cabal" ministry. This ministry was followed, after an interval, by that of the "Chits." Later came the Whig "Junto" of William III. Such ministries, nicknamed "Cabinets," found their power increasing as that of the king declined. When George I., unable to speak English, did not even attend Cabinet meetings, the Cabinet became the real rulers of the country.

Since the King was not present, the most important member of the Cabinet began to preside over its meetings. This was the origin of the modern office of Prime Minister. The position of a Prime Minister was at first quite unofficial, and Sir Robert Walpole, usually considered to have been the first man to hold it, never called himself by such a title. But Walpole's control over his Cabinet was strict. By forcing ministers to resign if they would not support his measures, he paved the way for the doctrine that the policy of a Cabinet is that of all its members, and that they are jointly responsible.

SUPREMACY OF THE WHIGS

Another result of the accession of George I was that the Whig party was firmly established in power. The Whig ministers were chosen by the King, but since Parliament was now the sovereign power in the State they needed a majority in Parliament, whose votes would carry their policy into effect. To keep this majority they used many devices, the first being the passing of the Septennial Act (1716). On the excuse that an election was unsafe in the disturbed state of the country that followed the Fifteen rebellion, this Act decreed that the existing, and future Parliaments, were to sit for seven years instead of three.

They then tried to ensure that the Tories should not obtain a majority. At this time most of the nation had no vote and no representation. Some of the members of Parliament were elected by the freeholders of the counties, but the greater number represented towns. Since they had been granted representation, many

of these towns had declined or almost disappeared, and might have scarcely any inhabitants. Even when the town remained important, in most cases few of the inhabitants had the privilege of voting. So, since the electors were few, the Whigs were able to build up a system of corruption by which they could always secure a majority in Parliament.

The great Whig landowners, by one means or another, obtained control of many borough elections, so that they could decide what member was to be elected. The Duke of Argyle controlled all Scottish elections in favour of the Whigs. Moreover the ministry was able to choose the people who were to receive the grants of pensions and offices made in the King's name, and so could buy the support of members of Parliament by gifts of positions or incomes. The result was that Tory members were a small minority, usually composed of county representatives. For a long time they had no chance of turning the Whigs out of office.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

At the beginning of George I's reign England and France ceased to be unfriendly. The ambitious Louis XIV died (1715), and his successor Louis XV, was too young to rule. France fell under the regency of the Duke of Orleans, who wanted the support of England to uphold the Peace of Utrecht (1713), which had ended the War of the Spanish Succession.

The object of the Utrecht settlement had been to divide the possessions of the Hapsburg kings of Spain, whose line had come to an end with the death of Charles II. Philip V, a grandson of Louis XIV of France, had been acknowledged as king of Spain, but the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands had been given to the Emperor, Charles VI. Spain was eager to recover what had been lost, and Philip V. was making ready for a war in Italy. The Duke of Orleans did not want Spain to become too powerful, in case Philip V, as a French prince, should put forward a claim to the French Crown. England was on bad terms with Spain over the old question of her trade with the Spanish colonies in America. A Triple Alliance (1717) was arranged between France, England, and the United Provinces (Holland) to check the attempt of Spain to recover her lost possessions. When a Spanish fleet was sent to attack Sicily it was defeated by the English in the Battle of Cape Passaro (1718).

This forced Spain to make peace and confirm the terms of the Utrecht settlement Stanhope, the head of the first ministry of George I (1714-1720), was felt to have scored a diplomatic victory.

RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

Since most Dissenters were supporters of the Whig party the Tory Government of the last years of Anne's reign had tried to exclude them from political rights Dissenters had been accustomed to qualify themselves for office under the Test Act (1673) by taking the Anglican sacrament once a year, but the Tories made this evasion illegal by the Occasional Conformity Act They had also passed a Schism Act which prevented Dissenters from having schools of their own denomination for the education of their children.

This Tory attack on the Dissenters had been a party move, designed to weaken the Whigs Stanhope therefore repealed both the Occasional Conformity Act and the Schism Act by the Protestant Interests Act (1718) This incident shows how measures that dealt with religious matters might be passed from purely political motives, at a period when there was little interest shown in religion for its own sake

Stanhope's Government put Ireland more completely under English control by the Declaratory Act (1719), which declared that laws made by the English Parliament could be applied to Ireland

THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE

Stanhope's ministry ended in disaster Foreign trade, and especially the slave trade with the West Indies and America, was very profitable, and great fortunes were being made People began to think it was easy to get rich quickly by buying shares in some trading company or other.

When the South Sea Company was formed, to trade with South America in slaves and other commodities, the ministry agreed to the Company's proposal that it should take over the National Debt This gave the South Sea Company great prestige, and there was such a demand for its shares that their price rose to an absurd extent Moreover, the craze for speculation increased till people would buy shares in any company



Rischgitz

SOUTH SEA BUBBLE A SCENE IN 'CHANGE ALLEY, LONDON, 1720

however foolish the object for which it had been founded This could end only in one way. Investors discovered that the fortunes which they had expected did not appear People began to sell the shares that they had bought, prices fell, and innumerable people were ruined The disgrace brought upon the Government was such that Stanhope died of a fit, and another minister committed suicide

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE

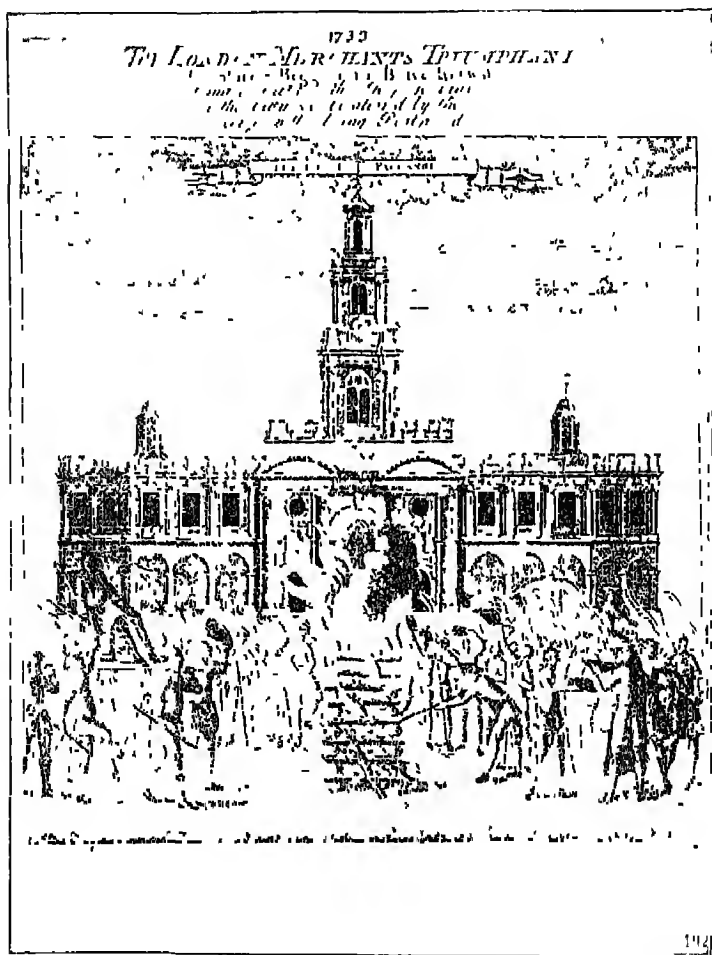
The South Sea panic provided an opportunity for a Whig statesman, destined to remain in office for over twenty years (1721-1742), to get power into his hands. This was Sir Robert Walpole, a country gentleman of Norfolk, who united all the coarseness and materialism of the eighteenth century squire with great ability as a Parliamentary debater. He had also ambition, love of power, and a shrewd grasp of financial questions. Walpole's arrangement of the affairs of the South Sea Company gained popularity and admiration for him. It put him at the head of his party, and he began to rule England on the lines which seemed to him most likely to increase national prosperity.

Walpole was a man without high ideals, but with much practical ability. The aim of his policy was to keep the country prosperous and contented by measures to increase trade, and by a peaceful foreign policy. Except in finance, where he carried out useful reforms, he believed firmly in leaving things alone. However sure he might be that his policy was wise, he would not attempt to carry it through in the face of popular opposition. This did not mean that he was a weak man, for he controlled the Government firmly, forcing colleagues to resign when they disagreed with him. But he put prosperity and peaceful, orderly government above everything else, and had too little enthusiasm for any cause or principle to risk much for it.

Walpole's firm control of the Cabinet has led historians to call him the first Prime Minister. To maintain his own power, he did much to build up the system of corruption by which the Whigs kept their majority in Parliament. He did not object to using such means, for he believed that most men could be bought, and cynically accepted the fact. On the death of George I (1727), he remained in power under George II, whose wife, Queen Caroline, was his loyal supporter.

FINANCIAL REFORMS AND COLONIAL POLICY

Walpole carried out important financial reforms. He managed to reduce the interest on the National Debt, with the result that it cost the taxpayers less. He also established a Sinking Fund to pay it off altogether, though this result was never achieved. He saw that foreign trade was being hampered by heavy customs dues, so he abolished many of these and reduced



BURNING WALPOLE'S EFFIGY AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EXCISE BILL
IN APRIL 1733.

others, with the result that overseas trade was doubled and the merchants benefited. He also saw the advantage of replacing customs on certain goods by an excise duty. This meant that the goods were taxed when sold to the consumer instead of when they entered the country. If they were re-exported instead of being sold in England, they escaped duty. This scheme was tried with tea and coffee and worked well, but when, in 1733, Walpole brought in an Excise Bill to apply the same system to wine and tobacco, his political opponents raised an outcry. The excise officers would, they said, be sent to pry into people's goods. Walpole thereupon abandoned the scheme.

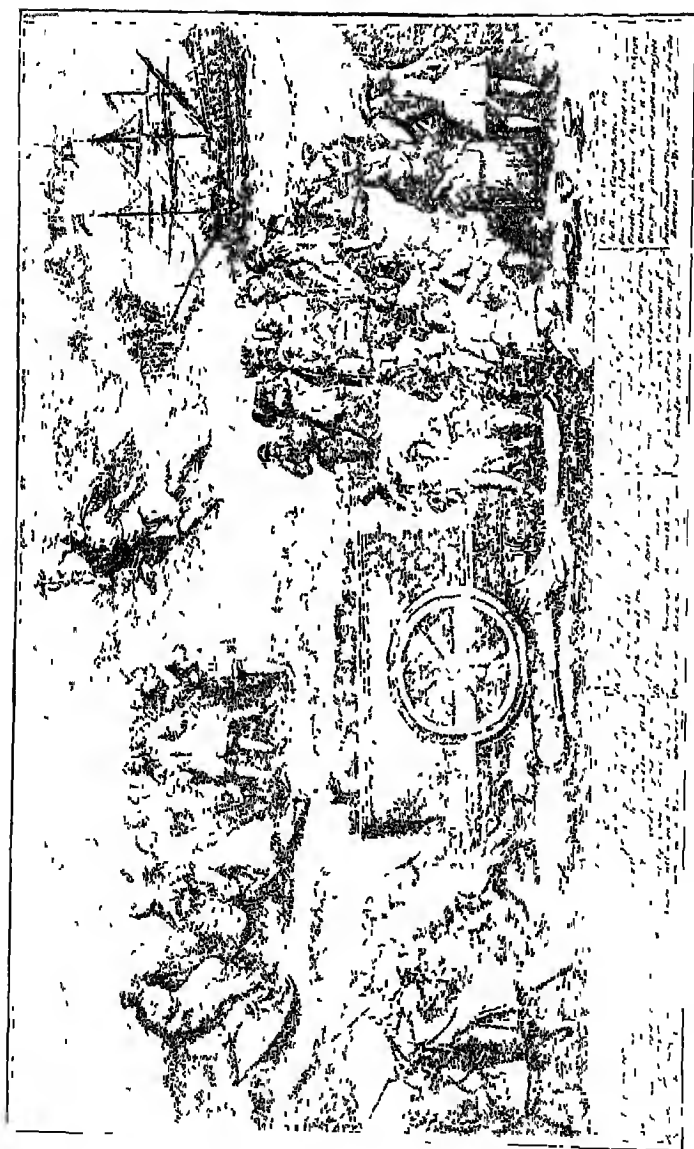
In his colonial policy Walpole showed the same unwillingness to face opposition. The colonies were already attempting to control their governors and judges by refusing to vote their salaries for more than a year at a time, so that they remained unpaid when they did not please the colonists. By refusing to interfere Walpole left the difficulty to be settled later. His Molasses Act (1733), designed, by a tax on foreign sugar, to prevent the colonists from importing sugar from the French West Indies, raised the question of England's right to tax the colonies without their own consent.

IRISH, SCOTTISH AND FOREIGN POLICY

In Ireland Walpole did little, but his grant of a patent to a man named Wood (1722) to give Ireland a new copper coinage gave his enemies an opportunity. Swift, who had written Tory pamphlets in the reign of Queen Anne, produced a series of "Drapier's Letters," which criticised the government of Ireland, and "Wood's Halfpence" had to be withdrawn.

The opposition to Walpole included, not only Tories, such as Swift and Bolingbroke, but many of the younger Whigs. The Tory Bolingbroke not only attacked the Government in his paper, the "Craftsman," but also influenced some of the young Whigs, of whom the most noted was William Pitt, against Walpole's policy. Pitt and his friends called themselves the "Patriots" though Walpole nicknamed them the "Boys." They challenged Walpole's authority in Parliament and, meanwhile, he was becoming unpopular elsewhere.

In Scotland an unfortunate incident caused much indignation against him. In 1736 the Porteous Riots occurred in Edinburgh



"WOOD'S HALFEENCE"

A copper coinage for Ireland was withdrawn by Walpole on account of popular opposition.

A mob which attempted to rescue a smuggler, condemned to be hanged, had been fired upon by the town guards. Captain Porteous, the commander of the guards, was condemned to death for giving the order to fire. When the Government ordered a reprieve, the Edinburgh mob seized Porteous and hanged him themselves. Walpole, departing from his usual caution, fined the city heavily for this act of violence, and so lost political support in Scotland. But it was his apathy in foreign affairs that led to his fall.

Walpole's foreign policy had been one of peace and continuation of the alliance with France. When in 1723 a European war broke out over the question of the Polish Succession, he had the alternative of either supporting France in the war, or losing her friendship. He chose peace, so France abandoned her friendship with England and entered into the alliance with Spain, known, because of the relationship between French and Spanish kings, as the First Family Compact (1733).

This Franco-Spanish alliance caused Spanish officials to treat English smugglers in their South American colonies with greater severity. As English merchants were always ready to embark on a war in defence of their overseas trade, the victims received much sympathy, and there was a demand for retaliation on Spain. This reached its climax when Captain Jenkins produced an ear in a bottle, and swore the Spaniards had cut it off.

Walpole did not want war, and attempted to negotiate a settlement of the smuggling disputes, but he followed his usual practice of giving way to opposition. In 1739, the "War of Jenkins' Ear" began. Having been forced into war, Walpole carried it on half-heartedly, and this, and his policy with regard to the European dispute over the Austrian Succession, gave his opponents a chance to overthrow him. The Government was defeated over an election dispute, and in 1742 Walpole resigned.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE EUROPEAN WARS OF THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

COLONIAL TRADE AND WAR WITH SPAIN

When the ministry of Walpole came to an end (1742), England was engaged in the "War of Jenkins' Ear," and a European conflict, the War of the Austrian Succession, had also begun.

Ever since Spain had established her colonial empire in the West Indies and in Central and South America, English merchants and seamen had struggled either to trade with the Spanish colonies, or to plunder them. Spain did not welcome foreign traders, but, after the War of the Spanish Succession, England obtained the Asiento Treaty (1713), as a part of the Utrecht settlement. By this treaty British merchants were allowed to supply a fixed number of slaves to the Spanish colonies for the next thirty years, and to send one shipload of goods annually to Portobello.

The importance of this treaty to British trade lay in the fact that British merchants did not keep its provisions. The inhabitants of the Spanish colonies were ready to buy far more slaves and goods than their government had agreed to admit, so a great deal of smuggling took place. In checking this, the Spanish officials asserted their right to search British ships. Tales of their ill-treatment of British seamen, and especially of the famous Jenkins, who claimed that they had cut off his ear, helped the mercantile party in England to inflame popular feeling against Spain.

English merchants were making large fortunes out of overseas trade, and especially out of the slave trade with the West Indies and America. A cargo of cheap goods could be sent to Africa and exchanged for slaves. These slaves were sold to the planters of the West Indies, or of the American mainland, at a huge profit. The money received was then invested in a cargo of sugar or tobacco, which was sold in England. Thus, a threefold profit was made over the venture. This sort of trade was making

the fortunes of the ports of London, Liverpool, and Bristol, and the English merchants were quite ready to go to war in its defence

Since Walpole's opponents were able to rely upon the support of the wealthy and influential merchant class, they forced him to abandon his peace policy for one of war with Spain. The cautious minister tried to restrict the war as much as possible. It dragged on with scarcely an event of importance, except the capture of Portobello (1739), and the spectacular expedition of Anson (1740-1744). Anson sailed round the world, reaching the Spanish colonies on the west coast of South America by way of the Cape of Good Hope and the Pacific Ocean, and capturing an immense amount of treasure.

THE POSITION IN EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

When the Emperor Charles VI died (1740), a dispute arose over the succession to the possessions of the Hapsburg House of Austria. This gradually involved the whole of western Europe in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748).

In the eighteenth century Germany was still divided into a large number of states. In name these states formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, of which Charles VI, as Emperor, was the head. Though the Emperor's title gave him prestige in Europe, he had no control over the German princes, whose states were really independent kingdoms. But Charles VI, as head of the Hapsburg family, the House of Austria, had important possessions of his own. These included Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, Silesia, and many other provinces in Central Europe, as well as the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and parts of Italy.

Such a collection of states, united only by their allegiance to the same ruler, could easily be broken up. Most of the European powers hoped for a division of the possessions of the House of Austria. France would have been glad to see her Hapsburg rivals weakened and would also have liked to extend her own territory by conquering the Austrian Netherlands. Spain wished to recover the Italian provinces she had been forced to give up to the Emperor at the time of the Utrecht settlement (1713). Also, in northern Germany a new power, Prussia, had arisen, anxious to acquire the Hapsburg province of Silesia.

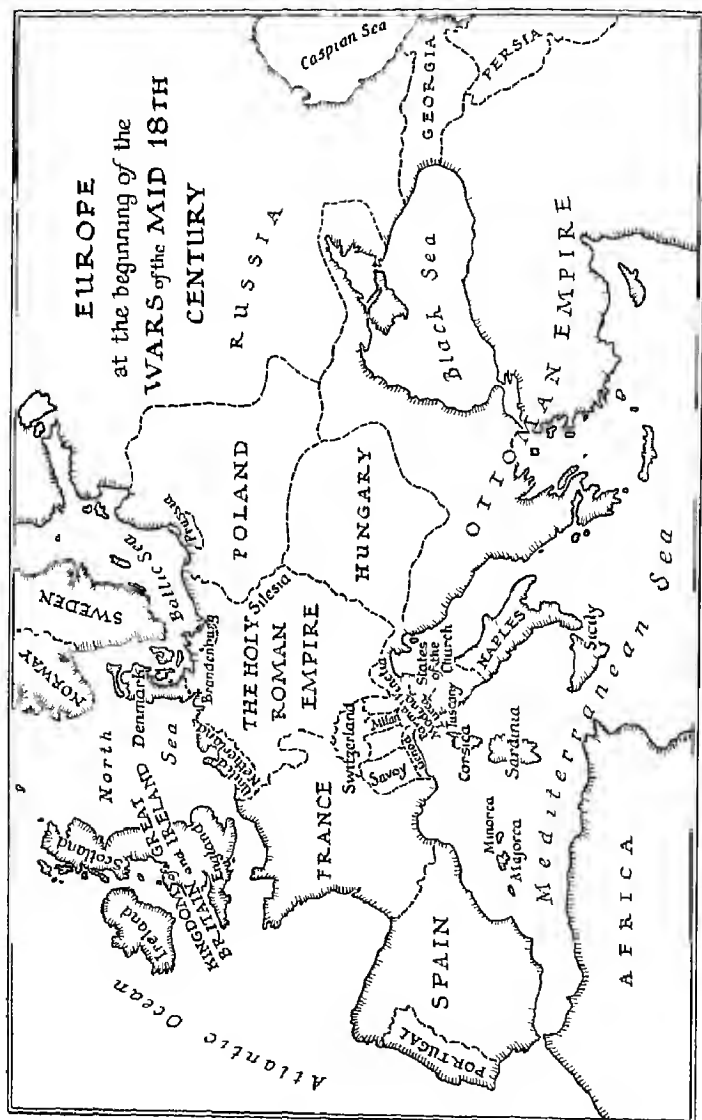
MARIA THERESA AND THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION

Charles VI had a daughter, Maria Theresa, but no son, and he had long foreseen that his death might lead to a disputed succession, since the Hapsburg lands had never been ruled by a woman. He tried to meet the situation by a decree, known as the "Pragmatic Sanction." This declared the Hapsburg territories indivisible, and made Maria Theresa heiress to them. To the Pragmatic Sanction he gained the consent of the various European powers by diplomatic concessions, but in the eighteenth century European nations showed little respect for the treaties they made. When Charles died, the powers soon forgot their promises, and began to make plans for the division of the Austrian inheritance.

The first attack upon Maria Theresa was made by Frederick the Great of Prussia, who seized Silesia (1740). His example was soon followed by the other European powers. France and Spain built up an alliance to support the claims of the Elector of Bavaria to the Empire and to a share of the Hapsburg inheritance, which was to be divided among the allies. Frederick of Prussia joined the alliance, and, in spite of Maria Theresa's efforts to secure the Empire for her husband, the Elector of Bavaria was chosen Emperor by the German princes as Charles VII (1742).

Unlike the other European powers, England kept her promise to accept the Pragmatic Sanction and to uphold the claim of Maria Theresa to the Hapsburg lands. England had no wish to see her commercial and colonial rival, France, become predominant in Europe through the destruction of the power of the Hapsburgs. Moreover she was already engaged in her colonial war with Spain, the War of Jenkins' Ear, and feared that, if the allies were successful, she might lose Gibraltar and the entrance to the Mediterranean. Again, George II was not only King of England, but Elector of Hanover, and the safety of his German electorate was endangered by the growing power of Prussia.

Walpole was still in power, and had no wish to add a European war to the struggle with Spain into which he had been so unwillingly forced. But, he saw that Maria Theresa's position was desperate, and that only English intervention could prevent the division of the Hapsburg states. So he interfered by sending money with which Austria could equip an army of her own.



THE WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION

Like his dilatory method of conducting the war with Spain, Walpole's European policy was not energetic enough for the Whig merchants, and their influence enabled his political opponents to force him to resign. Another Whig ministry, the "Drunken Administration" (1742-1744) came into power, and English foreign policy fell under the control of Lord Carteret.

Unlike Walpole, Carteret was deeply interested in European affairs, and he struggled energetically to free Maria Theresa from her difficulties. He continued the subsidies to her armies, persuaded her to make peace with Prussia by giving up Silesia to Frederick, and sent an army of Englishmen and Hanoverians to her rescue when she was in danger of being overwhelmed by the French. This army marched into Germany, but in a very leisurely fashion, and having been out-generalled by the French, was forced to save itself by fighting. The battle took place at Dettingen (1743), on the Main, and the English, commanded by George II, were victorious. But no result of military importance followed, and George retreated towards Hanover. Meanwhile, just as Walpole had been denounced for neglecting the war, Carteret was now accused of making Englishmen fight in the interests of Hanover, and his ministry was overthrown (1744).

Carteret's fall had been engineered by the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham. These Pelham brothers now came into power at the head of what was nicknamed the "Broad-bottomed Administration" (1744-1754), because it claimed to represent all parties. Actually it was no more than another Whig clique, and maintained itself in office by the usual Whig method of corruption. When the Pelhams had overthrown Carteret, they continued the policy of supporting Maria Theresa for which they had denounced him. They even went so far as to declare war on France (1744), though, hitherto, England and France had fought only as allies of Austria and Bavaria.

The war seemed likely to drag on indefinitely. Prussia had re-entered it, for Austrian successes made Frederick fear that Maria Theresa would try to regain Silesia. The opposing powers seemed fairly evenly matched, and no military genius appeared to give success to either side. The war between England and France extended to the colonies. In America the English took

Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, and in India the French captured Madras. In 1745 a British army under the Duke of Cumberland, sent to check a French invasion of the Netherlands, was defeated at Fontenoy. It was then recalled to England to suppress a Jacobite rising, the "Forty-five," leaving the Netherlands to be overrun by the French.

In 1748 the war came to an end, not because either side had been victorious, but because the European Powers had tired of a struggle that seemed to have no definite object. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left unsettled all the real causes of quarrel. The death of the Emperor Charles VII. made it possible for Maria Theresa's husband, Francis, to be elected in his place, but the struggle over the Hapsburg territories was still undecided. Maria Theresa had to leave Silesia in the hands of Prussia, but was determined to try to recover it later. Prussia wanted still more Austrian provinces. France gave up her conquests in the Netherlands, but retained her desire to possess them. She restored Madras to England, and recovered Louisbourg, but the colonial rivalry between the two nations was becoming fiercer. England sold back to Spain her trading rights with the Spanish colonies, but the smuggling carried on by English traders remained to cause friction. It was evident that, after years of fighting, Europe was left with enough disputes unsettled to provide ample cause for another war.

THE DIPLOMATIC REVOLUTION

The Peace of Aix-le-Chapelle (1748) had left the European powers with their quarrels still unsettled. Not many years elapsed before the "Seven Years' War" (1756-1763) began, but in this short interval a drastic change in the European system of alliances had taken place, known as the "Diplomatic Revolution." This change of allies was largely the work of Maria Theresa's minister, Kaunitz, and was the result of the determination of the Empress to recover Silesia from Prussia.

The English alliance had saved Maria Theresa from having her possessions divided by the European powers in the War of the Austrian Succession, but it was certain that England would not take part in an attack on Prussia for the recovery of Silesia. In the last war England had been moved by hostility, not to Prussia, but to her colonial and commercial rival, France. She

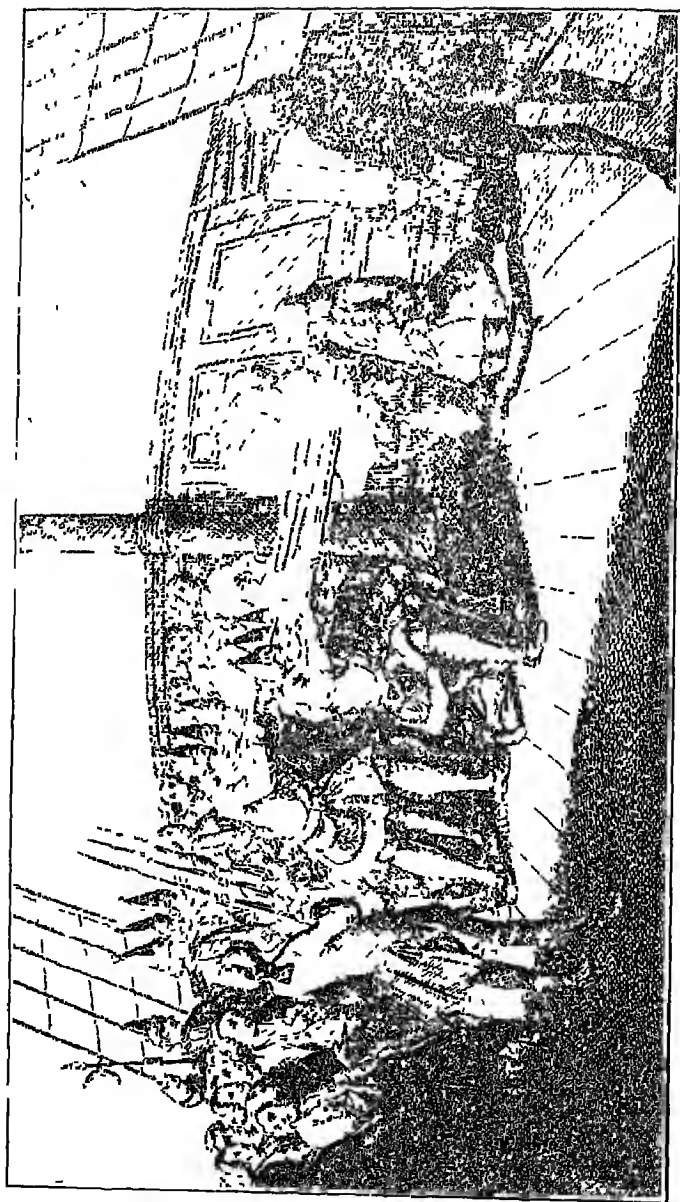
had no reason for attacking Frederick the Great, while to do so would endanger George II's Electorate of Hanover, the neighbour of Prussia. It was evident that, if Maria Theresa wished to attack Prussia, she must seek a new ally, and Kaunitz suggested an alliance with France.

At first the Austrian negotiations with France came to nothing. Prussia was France's ally, and to contemplate going to war with her was too complete a change of front even for the statesmen of the eighteenth century. But Frederick the Great, not being himself a dependable ally, was ready to suspect that he was being betrayed. Hearing of the Austrian negotiations, he decided to guard himself by an alliance with England, and England, already engaged in a colonial war with France, was glad to rely on Prussia for the protection of Hanover. An alliance between England and Prussia was concluded in the Treaty of Westminster (1756). France, deserted by Prussia, then decided to accept the Austrian alliance, and concluded the Treaty of Versailles (1756) with Maria Theresa. This Austro-French alliance was joined later by Russia.

AFFAIRS IN ENGLAND OUTBREAK OF WAR

It mattered little to England whether Silesia was to belong to Maria Theresa or to Frederick the Great. She was drawn into the European quarrel by the need to protect Hanover and by her commercial and colonial rivalry with France. In both India and America, French and English were engaged in a struggle for supremacy, and, when the European war broke out, they had already been fighting each other for two years in the colonies. This colonial fighting did not necessarily involve a declaration of war, and in Europe France and England were nominally at peace. Even when the French attacked and took Minorca (1756) war was not declared. Open war was caused eventually by British attacks on the French convoys taking troops across the Atlantic to the colonial war in North America.

The ministry in power in England was that of the Duke of Newcastle (1754-1756), whose brother and former colleague, Henry Pelham, had died in 1754. Newcastle was a clever party manager, and understood the Whig methods of controlling Parliament, but he was quite unequal to the task of carrying on a great war. When Minorca was lost, Admiral Byng had been executed



THE SHOOTING OF ADMIRAL BYNG ON BOARD THE *Monarque*, 1757

as a scapegoat, to hide the fact that the Government's neglect of the navy was to blame for the disaster. But Byng's death did not save Newcastle. Pitt's denunciations of the mismanagement of the colonial war led to Newcastle's resignation, and his ministry was replaced by that of Pitt and Devonshire. Meanwhile, in Europe, as a result of Kaunitz's new system of alliances, Frederick of Prussia found himself surrounded by enemies. Deciding to attack them before they had completed their arrangements for crushing him, he invaded Saxony (1756). This marked the beginning of the Seven Years' War.

At first things went badly both for England and Prussia. Frederick overran Saxony and invaded Bohemia, but he was soon defeated and driven back, while British efforts in the colonies ended in disaster. Pitt was evolving schemes for conducting the war with greater efficiency, but he was hampered by his colleagues in the Cabinet and by the hostility of the Duke of Cumberland. Cumberland, George II's son, resented Pitt's lack of interest in the fate of Hanover. Pitt was forced to resign, but a few weeks later he allied himself with the Duke of Newcastle and returned to power in the Pitt-Newcastle ministry (1757-61). Newcastle managed Parliament, while the control of finance and of the war was left in Pitt's hands.

PITT'S INFLUENCE IN ENGLISH POLITICS

Pitt's position in English politics was a peculiar one. He had been deeply influenced by the writings of the Tory leader, Bolingbroke, and had learnt from him to dislike the Whigs and to denounce the corrupt methods by which they kept England under their control. Pitt had a genuine love of liberty and was supremely honest, refusing to make a profit out of the offices that he held, though to do so was the universal custom of his day. He was a great orator, and could influence the House of Commons by his eloquence, but he was dictatorial, and found it difficult to agree with his colleagues, especially as he was obliged to work with the Whigs, whom he despised. It was partly because he was so determined to have his own way, and knew exactly what he wanted that he was so great a war minister. It was his belief that England's real interests lay, not in Europe, but in the colonies. He had denounced Walpole's dilatory conduct of the war with Spain, Carteret's pre-occupation with

European affairs and with Hanover, and Newcastle's mismanagement of the colonial war. Because of his support of trade and colonial expansion, Pitt could depend on the approval of the merchants, and it was this mercantile influence which had placed him in office.

Pitt's control of the war was made more complete by the failure of his opponent, the Duke of Cumberland. The Duke had been sent to defend Hanover, but was defeated by the French at Hastenbeck. He was obliged to sign the Convention of Klostersevern (1757), promising that he would disband his army and that Hanover should take no further part in the war. Pitt repudiated the Convention (a not very creditable piece of behaviour), and obtained from Frederick one of his generals, Ferdinand of Brunswick, to take command in Hanover.

PITT'S WAR ADMINISTRATION

Pitt regarded the war as a means of securing colonial supremacy for England. To him, the European conflict was an opportunity to keep France, and French armies, occupied, so that French resources should not be free for the colonial struggle. For this reason he supplied Frederick the Great with money to keep his armies in the field, and employed Ferdinand of Brunswick to fight the French in northern Germany. But he also grasped the importance of sea-power in the war. If England had command of the sea, she could prevent the French forces in India and America from receiving supplies and reinforcements, while she could send help freely to her own colonial troops. So Pitt took measures for restoring the efficiency of the navy. In both navy and army he picked commanders of genius.

Pitt's use of the navy has been criticised because he arranged a number of expensive raids on the French coast with little result. But in the later stages of the war English naval power played a brilliant part. The French planned an invasion of England, but Admiral Boscawen encountered their Mediterranean fleet off the coast of Portugal, as it was on its way to the Channel, and destroyed it at Lagos (1759). And, when the French Channel fleet came out of its harbour at Brest, it was defeated by Admiral Hawke in Quiberon Bay (1759). This gave the control of the sea to England. Meanwhile, in India and America, the English were engaged in successful campaigns, the

details of which belong to colonial history. These led to the final defeat of the French in India at Wandewash (1760). In America Quebec was taken (1759), and Canada conquered (1760).



WILLIAM PITT, FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM
(After the picture by R. Brompton)

END OF THE WAR DIVISION OF THE COLONIES

In Europe, Ferdinand of Brunswick, now in command of the defence of Hanover, drove the French out of northern Germany (1758), and in the next year defeated them at Minden (1759). English troops played an important part in this battle, which secured the safety of Hanover. But in Prussia Frederick the

Great was having a hard fight to hold back the armies of Austria and Russia. Only his military genius and English subsidies saved him from destruction.

In 1761, Pitt resigned, because his colleagues and the new king, George III (1760), would not declare war on Spain. Pitt considered this necessary because the Family Compact between France and Spain had been renewed. Pitt's resignation was soon followed by that of Newcastle. The new minister, Bute, who aimed at peace, first cut down the subsidy to Frederick and then took it away altogether.

Prussia was left in grave difficulties, and was saved from ruin only because the accession of Peter III, an admirer of Frederick the Great, induced Russia to stop fighting. Meanwhile, England had declared war on Spain (1762), and had continued her colonial conquests, capturing Havana, the French possessions in the West Indies, and the Philippine Islands.

The English merchants were grumbling at the expense of the war, and England had little left to fight for. Nevertheless, the Peace of Paris (1763), negotiated by Bute, was bitterly criticised by Pitt, who thought that more concessions might have been obtained. This peace gave England an empire. In India the French retained only the trading stations of Pondicherry and Chandanagore, which were not to be fortified. In America France ceded to England Canada and eastern Louisiana. Western Louisiana was given to Spain, to whom England returned Havana, receiving Florida in exchange. Of the French West Indies, Britain retained St. Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago. She also received Senegal in West Africa, and Minorca in the Mediterranean was restored to her. By the Seven Years' War, therefore, England attained colonial supremacy. The struggle between Prussia and Austria was ended by the Peace of Hubertsburg (1763), by which Frederick retained Silesia. By going to war Maria Theresa had not only failed to regain her province, but had firmly established Prussia as a formidable rival to the power of Austria in Germany.

CHAPTER XXXV

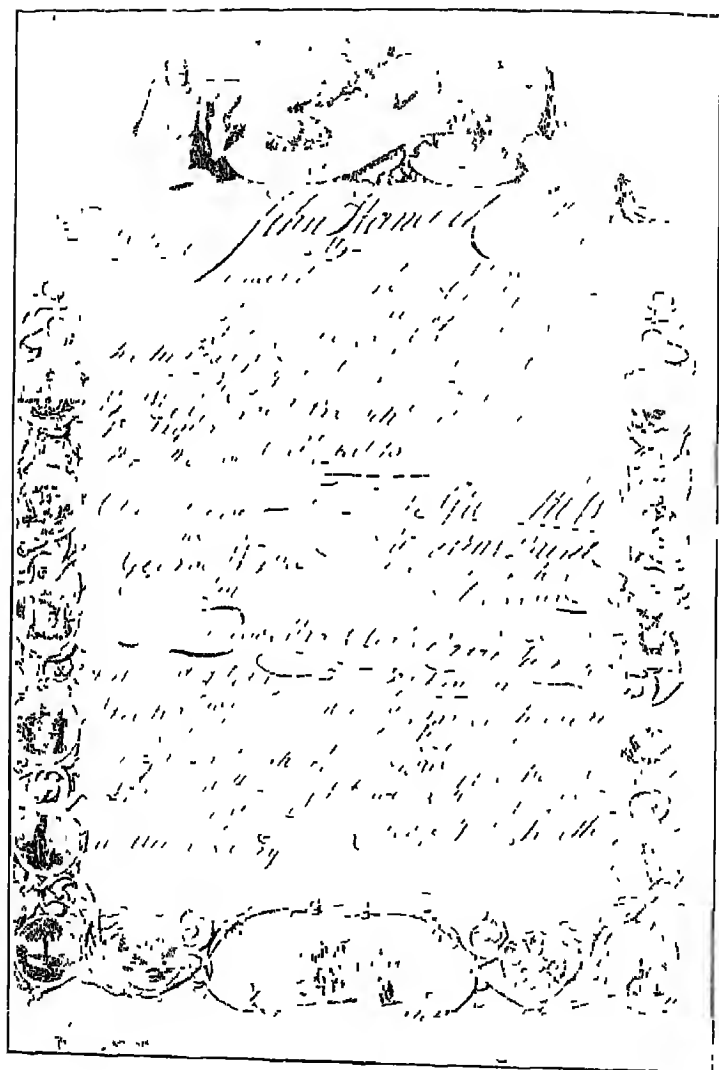
THE AMERICAN COLONIES AND THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH COLONIES

The Stuart period had seen the foundation of a continuous line of English colonies along the east coast of North America. These colonies were twelve in number. The New England states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island had been founded by Puritan settlers. New York and New Jersey had been taken from the Dutch, and re-named. Pennsylvania was the Quaker settlement established by William Penn. Delaware was originally a Swedish colony. Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina had been founded as commercial ventures, though Maryland had also been intended to provide a refuge for English Catholics. In 1733 a thirteenth colony, Georgia, was established by General Oglethorpe, a philanthropist, as a place in which English debtors, Scottish and Irish refugees, and persecuted German Protestants could find a new home. To the north of these colonies Britain had gained, by the Treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay Territory.

But the English were not the only settlers in North America. To the north of the English colonies was the French settlement of Canada, established as a result of Champlain's exploration of the St. Lawrence river (1608). In the south another Frenchman, La Salle, had reached the mouth of the Mississippi river, and had claimed the whole of its basin for France, under the name of Louisiana (1682). Also to the south of the English colonies was the Spanish province of Florida, but most of the Spanish colonial empire lay in Central and South America. In North America France and not Spain, was England's principal colonial rival.

The French and English colonies in America differed greatly in character. The English ones were relatively small and compact, with an agricultural population, most of whom were

*Rischgitz*

SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

engaged in such occupations as farming and tobacco planting. The French colonies were vast areas of country, uncultivated and unreclaimed, over which were scattered a thin sprinkling of French settlers, most of whom were hunters and fur-trappers. The English colonists greatly exceeded the French in numbers, and their more settled life gave them a firmer grip on the country they occupied, but the English colonies were disunited, each managing its own affairs. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the English Government showed little interest in colonial expansion, but France not only had complete control over the policy and government of her American colonies, but had the deliberate intention of claiming the whole of the interior of the North American continent for herself.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE OHIO VALLEY

The English colonies, though they stretched for an enormous distance along the American coast, were shut in between the Alleghany mountains and the sea. It was the aim of the French to prevent the English from extending their settlements beyond the Alleghanies, and for this purpose they had established a line of forts between their provinces of Canada and Louisiana. On the other hand, the English were beginning to realise that the French claim to the whole of the Mississippi basin threatened to cripple their own future growth. Settlers from Virginia obtained from George II a charter which granted them land on the Ohio river, along the valley of which they could penetrate beyond the Alleghanies and reach the Mississippi. The Ohio, therefore, became the centre of the struggle between the French and English colonists for the interior of the continent. The French expelled the English settlers from the valley, seized a fort which the Virginians had erected at the fork of the Ohio, and replaced it by a new fort of their own, which they named, after their colonial governor, Fort Duquesne (1754).

Border fighting between the French and English colonists was no new thing. But the English Government now realised that England's position in America was threatened, and sent out General Braddock with two regiments to attack Fort Duquesne. The colonists seemed to be less aware of their danger than did the Home Government, and Braddock received little help from

them. His regular troops lacked the proper training and equipment for forest-fighting, and were wiped out by the French and by their Indian allies (1755). This disaster roused the English colonists to a sense of their danger. Panic was caused by the rumour that the French intended an invasion from the north by way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson Valley. In England, Pitt denounced the way the colonial war had been conducted and Newcastle's ministry fell, while England's rivalry with



CANADA, 1756-1763

France now plunged her into the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Europe

CONQUEST OF CANADA

Pitt made colonial supremacy his main object, and professed to regard the war in Europe as little more than a means of keeping the French occupied. The English aimed not only at the defence of their colonies, but at the conquest of Canada. For

this purpose a threefold advance was planned. An expedition was to be sent to take Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, in order to secure the entrance to the St. Lawrence and the direct route up the river to Quebec. Another expedition was to proceed up the Hudson Valley to attack the French forts, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. The fall of Ticonderoga would open the way to the St. Lawrence by the Little Lakes. A third expedition was to take Fort Duquesne and reach the St. Lawrence by way of the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes.

An attack upon Louisbourg made in 1757 failed, but in the next year expeditions were sent to take Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne. Fort Duquesne was captured, and Amherst took Louisbourg, but had to leave his subordinate, Wolfe, to proceed up the St. Lawrence to take Quebec, while he himself went to besiege Ticonderoga, the attack upon which had failed.

In the next year (1759) Amherst took Ticonderoga, while Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence and attacked Quebec.

Quebec was reputed to be impregnable. It was defended by high cliffs on its western side, while the French army, under Montcalm, was entrenched to the east of it. Wolfe's attack upon the French lines failed, but he took the city by a daring night attack, in which its western cliffs were scaled by a precipitous path. Wolfe and Montcalm were killed, and Quebec was occupied during the winter by Murray. As soon as spring made the St. Lawrence navigable, Amherst, marching from Ticonderoga, united his forces with the troops that had reached Canada by way of the Great Lakes, and joined Murray. Montreal was taken (1760), and the conquest of Canada was completed.

The French had been decisively defeated in North America, and there was nothing left for them but to withdraw. By the Peace of Paris (1763), which ended the Seven Years' War, they gave up to England, not only Canada, but eastern Louisiana. Their vague rights beyond the Mississippi river, in western Louisiana, were abandoned to Spain, and Spain granted Florida to England. Thus England became supreme in North America. The French retained only the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near Newfoundland, so that they should have some share in the fisheries of that region.



WOLFE LANDING AT QUEBEC IN 1759

RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN AND THE COLONIES

The expulsion of the French from America was a great triumph for England, but, by freeing the English colonists from the fear of French attacks it ended their need of British protection. Thus it paved the way for the colonial struggle for independence.

The colonists had never submitted very readily to British control. The Puritan colonies of New England had been founded by men hostile to the Home Government. Elsewhere the settlement of Scottish and Irish refugees, who had left their homes because of their religious or political beliefs, had introduced an element definitely opposed to British rule. Moreover, the colonies had always possessed a large measure of self-government, for each had its own legislative assembly and made laws for itself. The colonial governors were supplied by Britain, but they were in an uncomfortable position, since their salary was voted by the colonial legislatures which could control them by refusing to pay.

Complaint of this state of affairs had been made to Walpole, but he refused to interfere. The independent spirit of the colonists was certain, sooner or later, to lead to trouble, for British restrictions upon colonial trade and manufactures provided them with a grievance. Britain regarded her colonies as a profitable market to be controlled in her own interest. She prevented them from developing manufactures of their own, so that they might depend upon her for all manufactured goods. She also interfered with their foreign trade, and in 1773 passed the Molasses Act to stop them by heavy duties, from buying sugar from the West Indian possessions of France and Spain.

The Seven Years' War had left England with a heavy burden of debt, and the discontent of taxpayers made the English Government decide that the colonists must pay the expenses of the American administration. It was understood that England had the right to impose customs duties on American trade, but the colonists had always evaded these by smuggling. Grenville, whose ministry was in power in England, began a stern repression of smuggling. The searches carried out by customs officers irritated the Americans, and their profitable trade with the West Indies was cramped.

THE QUARREL OVER TAXATION

Unwisely, Glenville, after annoying the colonists by his repression of smuggling, went further and, by the Stamp Act, imposed a government duty upon newspapers and on many legal and commercial documents. The colonies opposed this measure on the ground that only the colonial legislatures could levy internal taxation. They argued that if the British Parliament taxed them, they ought to be represented in that assembly. Actually, the distance between England and the colonies made such representation unworkable. Nor did the bulk of the colonists wish for it, but the cry of "no taxation without representation" was a useful means of rousing popular feeling. The stamp duty remained unpaid, and many riots occurred. Massachusetts summoned a colonial conference, the Stamp Act Congress, to meet in New York—a sign that the colonies were beginning to unite in their opposition to Britain.

In 1766 Rockingham's ministry gave way and repealed the Stamp Act, but passed a Declaratory Act, which asserted the right of the British Parliament to tax the colonies. Britain was still determined to make the colonies pay the cost of their own administration, and in 1767 Townshend, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, avoiding the internal taxation that had caused so much trouble, imposed duties on tea, paper, wine, oil, glass, and lard imported into the colonies. The colonists now showed that their willingness to accept duties imposed on foreign trade existed only when such duties could be evaded by smuggling. The Townshend Duties met with vigorous resistance, and attacks were made upon judges and customs officers who tried to enforce their collection. Moreover, English goods were boycotted, and the loss to English merchants was so great that the duties were, with one exception, repealed (1770). The tax on tea was retained as a sign that Parliament possessed the right to tax the colonies.

The struggle with England was drawing the colonies together, and dividing America into two parties: "Loyalists," who supported Britain, and "Patriots," who opposed British control. The Patriots had the advantage of possessing an energetic leader, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, who understood the arts of political organisation and of winning popular support. In their boycott of English goods the colonies had shown that they were

capable of combining for action, and in 1772 Adams began to establish a system of Committees of Correspondence, by which the Patriots of the different colonies could keep in touch with one another. He was paving the way for a revolution, and in 1773 the British Government's policy with regard to tea gave him the opportunity to bring matters to a crisis.



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY, 1773

Robert Reid, in Massachusetts State House, Boston

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

The British minister, Lord North, thought it might be possible to overcome American resistance to the tax on tea—the one Townshend duty that had been retained. Lord North aimed at the provision of cheap tea, so the East India Company was permitted to import tea directly into America, escaping the dues at British ports. In spite of the duty at the American ports this

tea would be cheaper than any that could be supplied by American merchants. But America would not buy the tea, and there was a general fear among American merchants of commercial competition from the powerful East India Company.

In his own town of Boston, Adams organised a riot, known as the "Boston Tea Party," in which ships were boarded and three hundred chests of tea thrown into the harbour. Massachusetts and its port of Boston had, from the first, been the centre of resistance to Britain, and the British Government now decided to make an example of the rebellious colony. Four repressive measures, which the colonists nicknamed "North's Intolerable Acts" (1774), were passed. By these the port of Boston was closed till the town should pay for the tea which it had destroyed, and Massachusetts lost its charter. Troops could be quartered on any colony, and English soldiers could be taken to England to be tried for acts committed in the colonies.

The other colonies rallied to the support of Massachusetts, and sent representatives to a Congress at Philadelphia (1774), which declared a boycott upon British trade. The situation was dangerous, though there was still a strong minority in the colonies that wanted peace. The British Government still failed to realise how near the colonies were to open revolt. Any incident might have led to war, and a sufficient one occurred when General Gage, who had been appointed governor of Massachusetts, sent troops to seize American military stores at Concord, and to arrest Adams at Lexington (1775). A body of American volunteers resisted the soldiers, and the fighting between Great Britain and America had begun.

BEGINNING OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

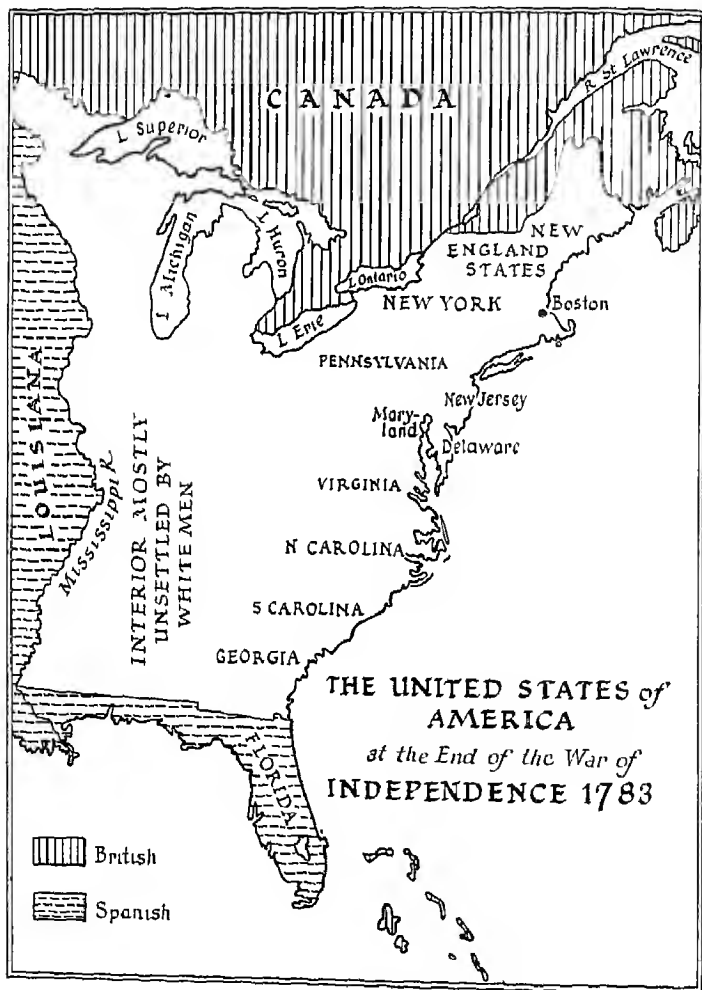
In the struggle with America, Britain was hampered by the fact that many of her own politicians, like Pitt and Burke, sympathised with the colonists. Moreover those who were determined to crush colonial opposition showed, like George III and North, little statesmanship in handling the situation. Ministers and generals were inclined to under-estimate colonial resistance, which was the more formidable because the English regulars were fighting in a vast and wild country and against irregular troops. Discipline and training proved of little value to them, while their campaigns were controlled by a distant



BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL

dilatory ministry in England, too far away to understand or deal with the situation

The Americans appointed as their commander-in-chief, George Washington, a Virginian who had had military experience



UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1783

in the Seven Years' War, and who now replaced Adams as the principal leader of the American revolution. They also crushed internal opposition by depriving the Loyalists of arms, and carrying out a wholesale persecution of them. Thus when the American Congress met at Philadelphia (1776), it was controlled by the Patriot party, and the thirteen American colonies claimed complete freedom from Britain by the Declaration of Independence.

In the course of the war England lost control of first, the New England states, then the middle states, and finally the south, where the proportion of loyalists was highest. After the quarrel at Lexington, the Americans had hastened to seize Crown Point and Ticonderoga (1775), and made an unsuccessful attack on Canada. Then stubborn resistance to British troops in the Battle of Bunker's Hill (1775), near Boston, gave them confidence in their own fighting powers. Bunker's Hill gave the British, now under the command of Howe, possession of the heights above Boston, but in the next year Washington was permitted to occupy this position. This forced Howe to evacuate Boston (1776), and withdraw to Nova Scotia. The New England states, the centre of American resistance, had been further antagonised by the British use of Hessian troops. Howe's withdrawal meant that they were practically lost. Howe occupied New York, while Cornwallis occupied New Jersey, and the struggle for the middle states began.

The English intended to get control of the Hudson Valley, and so to cut off New England from the other states. But now a long and indeterminate struggle between Howe and Washington began, in which Washington fought on the defensive, while Howe's movements were slow and indecisive. The English plan, by which Howe was to secure the Hudson by uniting with Canadian troops at Albany, came to nothing. In 1776 Washington won a victory at Trenton, and in 1777 he was defeated by Howe in the Battle of the Brandywine, but neither army secured a definite advantage. Meanwhile, the British general, Burgoyne, had re-captured Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, and expecting aid from Howe which he did not receive, was forced to surrender with his whole army at Saratoga (1777).



Rischgitz

SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS TO WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN, OCTOBER 9, 1781

His victory practically concluded the War of Independence

INTERVENTION OF FRANCE AND SPAIN

Saratoga not only caused the British to transfer the war from the middle to the southern states, but encouraged the European powers to interfere. France had already been inclined to avenge her defeat in the Seven Years' War by supporting the Americans. In 1778 she entered the war, and her example was soon followed by Spain. This was the deciding factor in the American struggle, for Britain temporarily lost control of the sea, and her shipping was harried by the combined French and Spanish fleets.

In 1780 the northern states of Europe combined in the "Armed Neutrality" to resist the British practice of searching neutral ships for contraband. This league was joined by the Dutch, which caused a British declaration of war on Holland. The naval combination against Britain decided the issue of the war in the southern states of America. The British forces under Cornwallis, established in Yorktown to await reinforcements after a successful campaign, were blockaded by sea by the French navy. The Americans held their land communications, and Cornwallis was forced to surrender (1781). Though the war dragged on after this, the surrender at Yorktown really marked the defeat of Britain in America.

After Yorktown Britain did something to reclaim her naval supremacy. Gibraltar, which had been besieged for three years by Spain, was relieved. In the West Indies, Rodney defeated the French admiral, de Grasse, off the islands of the Saintes, and this naval victory enabled Britain to obtain better terms in the Peace of Versailles (1783). By this peace the independence of the United States was recognised, and eastern Louisiana was granted to them, while Florida was returned to Spain. Spain also kept Minorca, which she had captured during the war. France retained Senegal and Goree in Africa, and St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRITISH POWER IN INDIA

THE MOGUL EMPIRE

India is a continent rather than a country, vast in size and divided into states whose people differ as greatly in race, language and customs as do the nations of Europe. They are of many religions—Mohammedans, Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, Buddhists, and other smaller sects. India has been unified by invaders who have conquered the Indian states, but, even under foreign rule, many of these states have retained their own administration and a measure of independence.

India is defended in the north by the Himalayan mountains, which are impassable to an invader, except in their north-western corner. Here the mountain passes can be crossed and the valley of the Indus reached. By this north-western route over the mountains wave after wave of Mohammedan invaders entered India from Central Asia during the Middle Ages. The last of these invasions was that of Baber, a warrior who belonged to the Mogul branch of the Tartar race, and who led his followers into India in the first part of the sixteenth century. Baber captured Delhi, and laid the foundations of the Mogul empire, which was extended by his successors till, in name at least, it embraced all India.

In reality some parts of India remained almost independent of the "Great Mogul," as Europeans called the Mohammedan emperor, but over its northern and central divisions he had effective control. Like most Oriental rulers, the Moguls appointed officials, with various titles, to rule their provinces for them. These officials were expected to raise troops and money for the emperors, but were left to govern their provinces as they pleased. As a result, the various states of India remained independent units, ready to break away from the empire as soon as it began to weaken.

Humayun
508-1556

Babar
1482-1530

Aurangzeb
569-1627

Akbar
1542-1605



Rischgitz

The portraits are entirely authentic and have the advantage of exhibiting Indian portraiture at its best. Their existence until recently was only known to a few Oriental scholars.

Taken from the MS of the Shad Jahan Mameh. Add. MS 20734 British Museum

EUROPEAN TRADERS

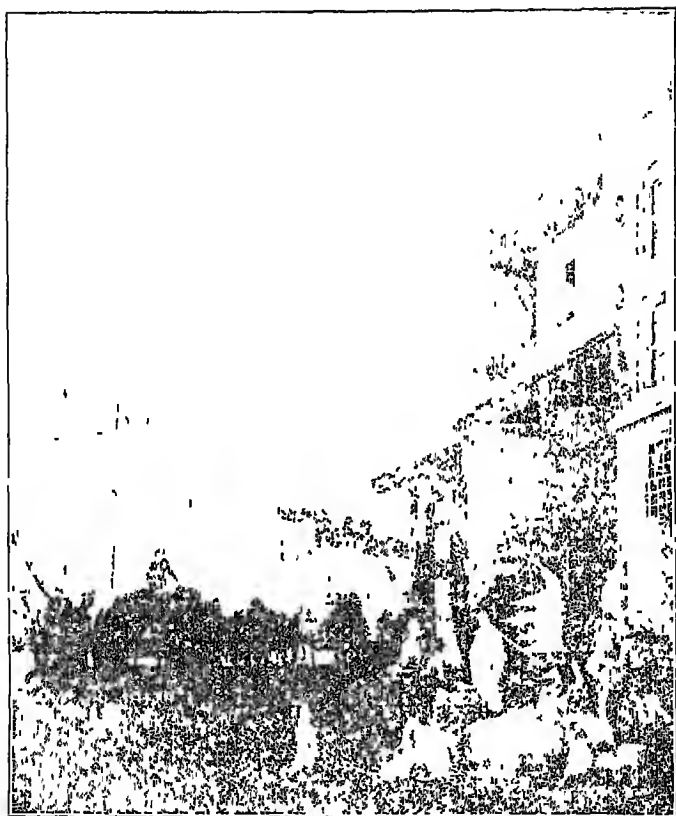
Europeans came to India not long before the Mogul empire was established, but, unlike the oriental invaders, they came not by land but by sea. Until the time of the great discoveries made at the end of the fifteenth century, India had been to Europeans a fabulous and legendary region, whose products reached Europe by an overland route through Asia. But when Vasco da Gama had discovered the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope (1497), the Portuguese established their trading posts on the shores of the Indian Ocean and got control of its trade. The naval supremacy of Portugal soon came to an end, and at the end of the sixteenth century Dutch and English traders appeared in Indian waters, the English East India Company being chartered in 1600.

Then the naval power of the Dutch decreased, and in the later years of the seventeenth century the French took their place as England's commercial and colonial rivals. French overseas expansion was the result of the policy of Louis XIV and his minister, Colbert, who in 1664 formed a French East India Company.

The position of the French and English in India was very different from that in America. In India there was no possibility of establishing colonies. The Europeans appeared as traders, and the trading posts they established were small places, dependent for their existence upon the goodwill of the native rulers. The Mogul Empire was still flourishing and was strong enough to repress the foreigners if it wished. In spite of the immense value of their Companies' trade, the Europeans were for a long time of little importance in India, and had no more than a precarious footing at a few points along the coast.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

The East India Company was in the first place a trading company, intended to make profits for its shareholders. But in order to trade with India at all, it was forced to negotiate with Indian rulers and arrange for its own defence. Thus the Company gradually became not only a commercial undertaking but something like an independent political power, making its own treaties with the native princes and having its own forts and military organisations.



OLD EAST INDIA WHARF AT LONDON BRIDGE.

Rischgitz

The Company's small possessions in India were divided into three Presidencies at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Each of these had a Governor and Council, which controlled its merchants and clerks. These were paid low salaries, but permitted to engage in private trade. Within its scrap of territory each Presidency ruled like a sovereign power, exercising jurisdiction and maintaining troops. But it was dependent on the native rulers on the one hand, and on the other upon the British Government, which had granted the Company its charter, and was able to withdraw or to extend its privileges. English

public opinion was inclined to attack the Company's monopoly of Indian trade, and trouble occurred with unlicensed traders, known as "Interlopers"

BRITISH AND FRENCH RIVALRY IN INDIA

In the middle years of the eighteenth century the struggle between France and England for commercial and colonial supremacy was fought out in Europe, America, and India in the



THE BRITISH IN INDIA, 1785.

War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War In India the way was paved for this struggle by the decline of the Mogul Empire, which had become little more than a name, leaving the Indian states practically independent

When the Mogul Empire declined, the position of the French and British East India Companies was much the same In Bengal the French had Chandernagore, and the British Calcutta (Fort William) In the Carnatic the French had Pondicherry, and the English Madras (Fort St George) On the west coast the principal English trading station was at Bombay, and that of the French much further south, at Mahé The regions of Bengal and the Carnatic became the centres of the struggle between the rival Companies

Since there was enough trade for both, such a struggle was not inevitable It originated in the policy of Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry in the Carnatic Dupleix saw the opportunity provided by the disorder in the Indian states He saw that the French, by supporting one party or the other in succession disputes, could place in control of a state a ruler dependent on their support They could then obtain concessions and exclude their British rivals from trade

This was possible because the discipline of the European troops, and of the Indian soldiers (sepoys) whom they trained, gave them the advantage over the much larger armies of the Indian princes Dupleix proved the truth of this during the War of the Austrian Succession (1742-1748) Having taken Madras from the British, he defeated an army, almost twenty times as large as his own, sent by the Nawab of the Carnatic to take his conquest from him By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Madras was returned to England in exchange for Louisbourg in America, which had been taken by the English, but the incident raised French prestige and influence in the Carnatic Plainly the English would have to fight for their position

When peace had been declared between France and England, the French and English Companies could no longer fight openly with each other They soon came into conflict again as supporters of rival claimants in a succession dispute in the Carnatic Here British success was due to a man of remarkable courage and military genius, Robert Clive, the founder of British power in India

THE RISE OF CLIVE WAR WITH THE FRENCH

Clive was at this time a young man of twenty-six. After being a clerk in the service of the Company he distinguished himself as an officer during the struggle with the French that occurred at the time of the War of the Austrian Succession. He was now given an independent command. At this time Mohammed Ali, the claimant to the Carnatic supported by the British, was being besieged in Trichinopoly by the French claimant Chanda Sahib. Clive suggested that the best way of raising the siege would be to create a diversion by attacking Chanda Sahib's capital of Arcot. He took Arcot (1751), and held it for fifty days against an Indian army twenty times the size of his own force, with the result that Trichinopoly was relieved, and Mohammed Ali became Nawab of the Carnatic. Moreover the French Company disapproved of the energetic policy of Duplex and recalled him, thus removing their most able leader in India.

Having made British influence supreme in the Carnatic, Clive visited England. On his return to India, it was in Bengal, that he was required. In Bengal neither English nor French were strong. When the Nawab of Bengal, Suraj-ud-daula, for no very adequate reason, attacked the British station at Calcutta he met with little resistance and Calcutta was evacuated. Unfortunately a hundred and forty-six English people fell into the hands of the Nawab, and were imprisoned in a small room only twenty feet square. All but twenty-three died of heat, panic, and lack of air.

This incident, the "Black Hole of Calcutta" (1756), led to Clive's expedition from Madras to punish the Nawab. The French gave some support to Suraj-ud-daula, so their station at Chandanagore was seized by the English. The Nawab was defeated in the Battle of Plassey, and his commander-in-chief, Mir Jafir, who had been intriguing with Clive was made Nawab in his place. The British thus became the controlling influence in Bengal.

Determined to do something to restore their position in India, the French, now engaged in the Seven Years' War, despatched the Count de Lally Tollandal to the Carnatic. Thanks to British naval policy, Lally was cut off from supplies from France by the British control of the sea. His attempt to take Madras was defeated by Lawrence, and Clive sent Colonel Eyre Coote from



ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE

Bengal to command the British against him. Lally was defeated by Coote in the Battle of Wandewash (1760). Pondicherry was taken next year. This decided the struggle with France for supremacy in India in favour of Britain, although Pondicherry and Chandanagore were returned to France by the Peace of Paris, and once or twice in later years the English were alarmed by a threatened revival of French influence.

CLIVE'S REFORMS

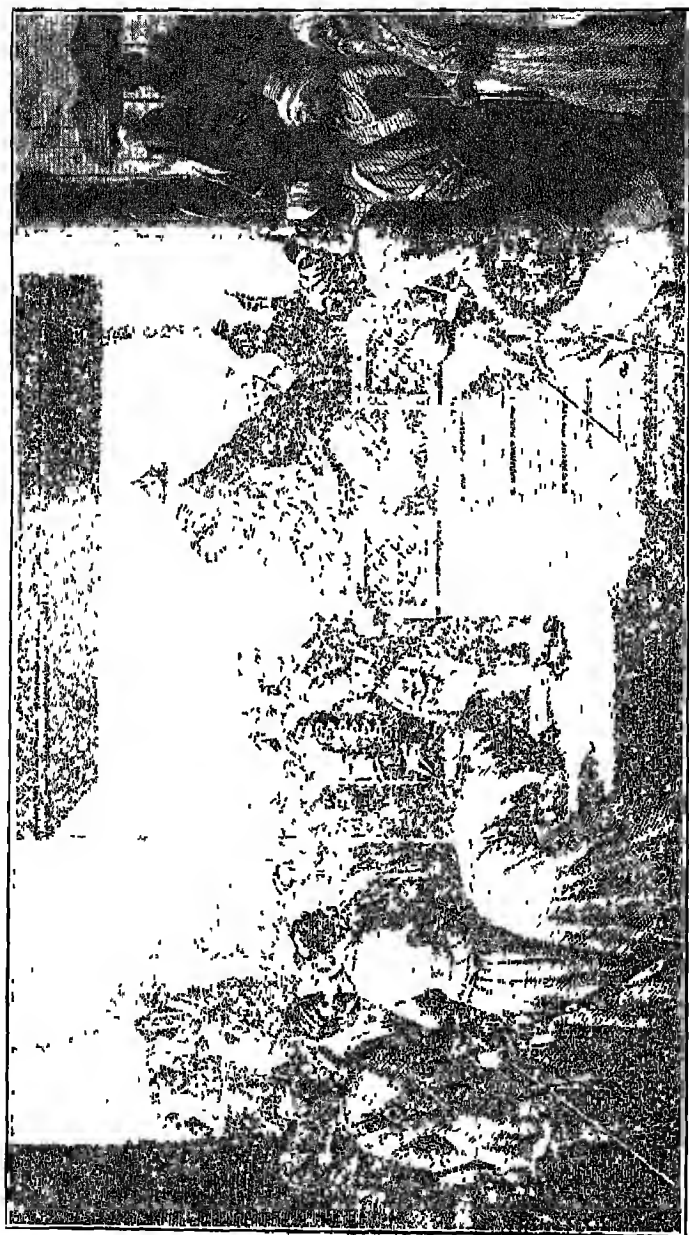
After Clive had once more returned to England, the extortion and mismanagement of the Company's officials in Bengal caused the Mogul Emperor at Delhi, and the Nawabs of Bengal and of Oudh to combine against the British. Their troops were defeated by Munro in the Battle of Buxar (1764), which extended the Company's influence to Delhi and Oudh.

When Clive returned to India (1765), he at once proceeded to make reforms. He forbade the Company's officials to engage in private trade, and increased their salaries, meeting the expense from the profits of a monopoly of the salt trade held by the Company. By the Treaty of Allahabad the Mogul Emperor placed the collection of the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in the hands of the Company. About half of the provincial revenues now became the Company's property, though the Nawab and the Mogul Emperor still retained their nominal supremacy. Clive's arrangements were a step towards responsible government, but in England they were bitterly criticised. The attacks upon him caused depression that finally led him to commit suicide (1774).

WARREN HASTINGS AND THE REGULATING ACT

Clive's "dual system" of government meant that the Company collected the revenues of Bengal, while the administration was left in the hands of the Nawab. The system worked badly. The Nawab's administration was inefficient, and the revenues were not enough to pay the expenses of it. The Company's servants continued their oppression and extortion, and grew rich, while the Company itself, in spite of its great possessions, made no profits and was almost bankrupt.

In 1773, Parliament intervened, and Lord North's Regulating Act was passed, re-organising the constitution of the Company.



THE DEWANEE OF BENGAL BIHAR AND ORISSA ACQUIRED BY THE ENGLISH

The Governor of Bengal became Governor-General, and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were placed under his control. But the Governor-General was not supreme. He was to be assisted by a Council of Four, and all matters were to be decided by a majority vote of the Council, the Governor having a casting vote when the other votes were even. A Commission of Judges was appointed, but the relation between Government and judges was not made clear, so friction was inevitable. Warren Hastings, who was appointed Governor-General, was continually hampered by the hostility of his Council.

Hastings set himself to reform the government of Bengal. He put an end to Clive's dual system by paying the Nawab a pension, but taking the administration of the province into his own hands. He had research made into the principles of Hindu and Mohammedan law, so that the natives could be tried by a system of justice they understood. He made a new assessment of the revenue, and re-organised its collection under collectors appointed for each district, who were also responsible for the maintenance of order. Like Clive, he tried hard to stamp out private trading. But he was hampered because only one of his Council had had previous experience in Indian administration, and the other three, led by Philip Francis, constantly opposed his measures.

THE MAHRATTAS AND WAR IN MYSORE

The chief danger to British power in India at this time came from the Mahrattas. This powerful Hindu confederacy had established its control over central India, and constantly made raids upon the surrounding states. The Mogul Emperor at Delhi had fallen under Mahratta control, and the Mahrattas now threatened Oudh, the neighbour of Bengal. Hastings made a treaty with Oudh, promising the Company's military help in return for payment. This treaty was a model for similar agreements made later to bring other states under British influence. But Hastings was much criticised for giving help to Oudh, because the Nawab, having conquered the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe, with British aid, treated them cruelly. The Mahratta danger to Bengal made the alliance with Oudh necessary, and Hastings appears to have been justified.

When the French declared war on Britain during the struggle for American independence, Hastings had to face the result of French intrigues in India, and was cut off from help because the British had lost command of the sea. Influenced by France the Mahrattas, Mysore, and Hyderabad united against the British. Armies had to be sent across India to rescue Madras and Bombay. In 1782 the Mahrattas made peace, and this broke up the confederacy. The French admiral, Suffren, came to the help of Mysore, but was kept at bay by the English admiral Hughes, and when Haidar Ali, of Mysore invaded the Carnatic he was defeated by Eyre Coote at Porto Novo (1781).

Hastings' wars had to be paid for, and his methods of raising money led to attacks upon him later. Objections were raised to his confiscation of the treasure of the Raja of Benares, who had refused to contribute to the cost of the Mahratta war. He was also criticised because he allowed the Nawab of Oudh to seize treasures that were in the hands of his mother and grandmother, the Oudh Begums, in order to pay his debts to the Company. Although he had saved the British dominions in India, and had reformed the administration of Bengal, Hastings was impeached by the Whigs on his return to England. His trial lasted for seven years, and though in the end he was acquitted, much of his fortune had been spent on his defence, and he retired into obscurity.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE WHIGS

WHIG AUTHORITY UNDER GEORGE I AND GEORGE II

After their long struggle with the Stuart kings for control of the government, the rich landowners and merchants of England, represented by the Whig party, had been glad to acknowledge kings like George I and George II. Partly because they were German and not English, and partly because they were men of very mediocre abilities, these kings were mostly content to leave their ministers to govern England for them. Their ministers were always chosen from the Whig party, because the Tories were suspected of favouring the exiled Stuarts.

The Whigs kept their majority in Parliament by controlling elections, and by buying votes in the House of Commons. Elections could be controlled because the system of representation was faulty and out of date. It varied greatly in different constituencies. In one or two towns almost every one had a vote, but in most cases the number of electors was small enough for the result of an election to be decided by bribery. In some boroughs the voters were so few that elections were completely in the hands of one of the great Whig landowning families, and peers, like the Duke of Bedford, were able to choose members of the House of Commons.

Control of elections gave the Whigs an overwhelming majority in Parliament, but the huge size of the party made it inclined to split into cliques, or sections, under different leaders. When a Whig ministry was in power, it had to meet opposition from other sections of the party, and to secure a majority by bribing supporters with grants of offices or pensions for themselves or their dependants. Votes were also bought for money payments made out of secret service money, while Government contracts went to supporters of the Government. The whole system was based on corruption. Americans call it "graft."

GEORGE III's ATTEMPT TO OVERTHROW THE WHIGS

When George III came to the throne he was not content to leave his ministers to govern for him. He was young and energetic, and both his own character and the training and influence of his mother made him anxious to restore the royal authority. George had ideas of kingship based on the writings of the Tory, Bolingbroke, who had denounced the Whig monopoly of power and hoped for a "Patriot King," who would rule England with the help of men of talent chosen from all parties. Though George was far from being Bolingbroke's ideal king he was eager to overthrow the Whigs, and to recover for the Crown the authority that it had possessed at the Revolution settlement. Though he was no statesman he proved himself a clever politician, able to grasp the methods by which the Whigs maintained their power and to use the same methods against them.

George did not want to reform the Whig system, but to get rid of the Whigs and build up a party of his own. He could already rely on the small body of Tories in Parliament, and he could, like the Whigs, buy supporters. The pensions and offices given by Whig ministers were granted in the King's name, and the King himself had the right to dispose of this "Crown patronage" if he pleased to do so. When George came to the throne the Pitt-Newcastle ministry was in power, and England was at the height of her success in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). The King quarrelled with Pitt about the necessity for war with Spain, and forced Newcastle to resign by taking control of Crown patronage and using it to build up a party of his own, the "King's Friends." He then chose the Marquis of Bute, who had been his tutor, for his minister, and so seemed to have triumphed over the Whigs.

But Bute, though an able man, had no talent for the management of the House of Commons, and his conclusion of the Seven Years' War by the Peace of Paris was unpopular. He was soon hounded out of office, for his opponents directed at him the full fury of their press-writers and pamphleteers and covered him with abuse, most of which was unfounded and undeserved.

Since his attempt to free himself altogether from Whig leaders had failed, George next tried the policy of ruling through a Whig

minister, Grenville Grenville's ministry (1763-1765) showed how much trouble could be caused by an able and conscientious politician incapable of estimating the strength of popular feeling Grenville could not see that measures which are legally defensible cannot always be put into practice, and he began the quarrel with the American colonies by his Stamp Act and enforcement of customs duties He also brought discredit on the Government by his treatment of Wilkes

WILKES AND THE GOVERNMENT

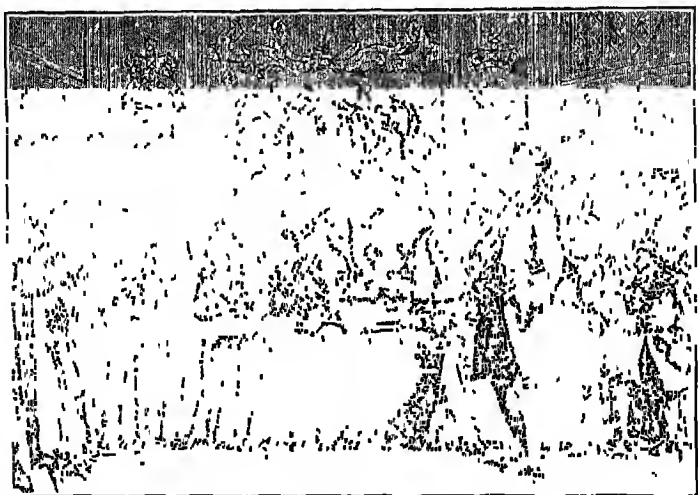
John Wilkes was a dissolute man of fashion, who had entered politics in the hope of obtaining some office or pension that would restore his fortunes His failure to do this embittered him against the King and the Government and he founded a paper the "North Briton," which made scurrilous attacks on Bute and his ministry In No 45 of his paper he made an attack on the King's Speech, which George III regarded as a personal insult Grenville, instead of ignoring the incident made Wilkes a popular hero by joining with George III in bringing the whole force of the Government to the task of crushing him

Wilkes fled abroad, but not before he had been charged with seditious libel, expelled from the House of Commons, and sentenced to a fine and imprisonment The Commons showed their subservience to the Government by refusing Wilkes his Parliamentary privilege of freedom from arrest, on the ground that it did not cover cases of seditious libel But Chief Justice Pratt showed the more independent spirit of the judges by declaring general warrants illegal It was on a general warrant (that is, a warrant in which no names were mentioned) that the authors, printers, and publishers of the "North Briton" were arrested.

Grenville could not agree with the King, so he resigned (1765), and the Marquis of Rockingham, leader of the "Old Whigs," came into office (1765-1766) Rockingham himself was one of the best and most enlightened of the Whigs, but his ministry was weak and did not last long George gave it no support He was negotiating with Pitt, now Earl of Chatham Both wanted a non-party ministry, and on the fall of Rockingham the experiment was tried But Chatham's health had broken down, and in 1768 he resigned, and was succeeded by the Duke

of Gratton Grafton's ministry (1768-1770) soon plunged into another struggle with Wilkes, which completed the overthrow of the Whigs, and raised the whole question of the corrupt system of representation by which the country was governed and the need for reform.

In his struggle with the Government Wilkes had obtained the popular reputation of a champion of liberty, and having returned to England was elected as member of Parliament for Middlesex. The Commons refused, on very insufficient grounds,



WILKES ON HIS TRIAL

Gooch

to allow him to take his seat. When the electors chose him a second and third time, the Government declared his opponent, Colonel Luttrell, to be elected. This was a dangerous attack upon the rights of the electors, and roused so much indignation that the Government was forced to give way.

The attack on the Government was led by discontented Whigs, who began to denounce the corruption of the Parliamentary system, which was now being used by the King against them, instead of to their advantage. Their great writer and orator, Burke, wrote his famous pamphlet, "Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents," while an anonymous writer satirised

the Government in the "Letter of Junius." At the same time Wilkes was making Parliamentary proceedings public, by establishing the right to publish Parliamentary debates.

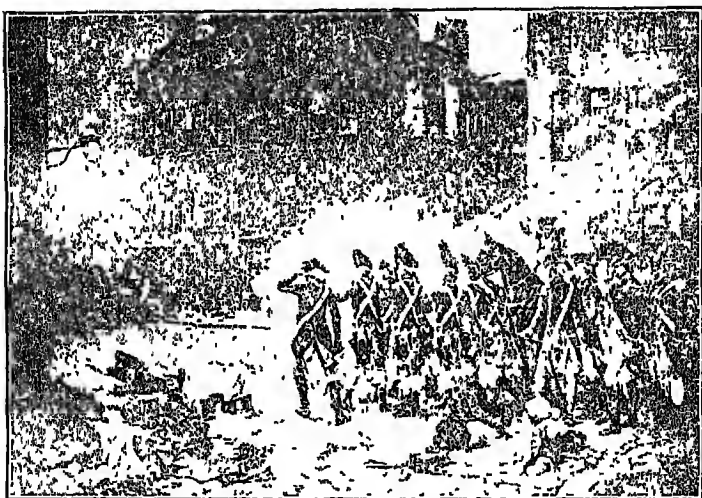
The attacks upon the Government led to the fall of the Grafton ministry, and this left the King in a strong position. One after another the principal Whig leaders had been given the opportunity to form a ministry and had failed to govern successfully. Meanwhile the King had had time to build up his own party, and could now put his own supporters in the place of the discredited Whigs. Criticism of his political methods and of the increase in royal power came from the discontented Whigs, who had supported Wilkes and had inflamed public opinion, but the King was strong enough to disregard them. He made Lord North head of the ministry, and North, who could rely upon a large Parliamentary majority built up by the same corrupt methods as had been used by the Whigs, remained in power for twelve years.

THE WHIG AGITATION FOR REFORM

While the North ministry was in power (1770-1780) George III himself took an important share in the government of the country. He interfered in the work and policy of his ministers more than any king had done since the establishment of Cabinet governments. Until the loss of the American colonies aroused general discontent, leading to the fall of North, the only people who objected to this extension of royal power were the fallen Whig leaders. By 1780, after France and Spain had declared war, and English fortunes were reaching their lowest point, the Commons, in spite of bribery, were sufficiently aroused to pass Dunning's Motion, a resolution which declared that the power of the Crown was increasing and ought to be diminished.

At the same time the Whigs, who did not like their own methods of corruption when used against themselves, were beginning a popular agitation. They demanded the reform of Parliamentary representation, and the abolition of many obsolete and useless offices, kept in existence to buy the votes of "placemen." Another sign of political discontent was the Gordon Riots (1780), which broke out in London after an Act for the relief of Catholics, and during which the city had a narrow escape from being burnt.

The surrender of Yorktown was followed by North's resignation, and the Whigs returned to power under Lord Rockingham (1782). It seemed that they had at last triumphed over the King, and they hastened to pass Burke's measures for "Economical Reform." This abolished some of the means by which the Government could buy votes. Many useless and obsolete offices were abolished, members of Parliament were forbidden to take Government contracts, and revenue officers were disfranchised.

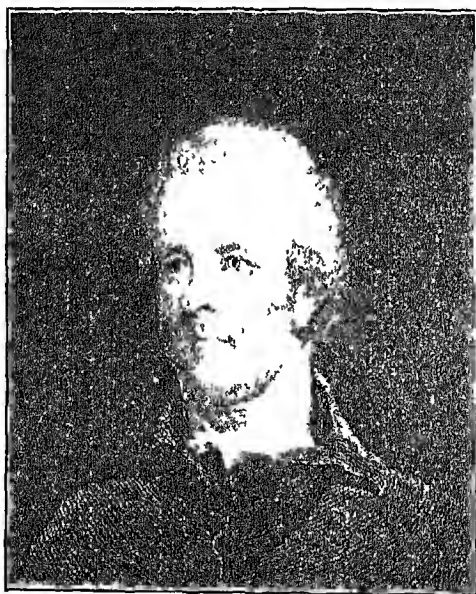


THE GORDON RIOTS

But the disunity of the Whigs made their triumph brief. When Rockingham died (1782) the Whig leaders, Lord Shelburne and Charles James Fox, quarrelled. When the King invited Shelburne to form a ministry (1782-1783), Fox was so determined to overthrow it that he allied himself with Lord North, the old opponent of the Whigs. Shelburne, after negotiating the Peace of Versailles (1783), which ended the War of American Independence, was forced to resign, and Fox and North came into power under the nominal leadership of the Duke of Portland.

The Fox-North coalition (1783) was unpopular, because the political views of the leaders were so different that their alliance

was regarded as unprincipled. It infuriated the King, who felt that North had deserted him. When Fox brought in his India Bill (1783), the King persuaded the House of Lords to reject it, and then dismissed the ministry. He chose as his Prime Minister Chatham's second son, William Pitt, a young man of twenty-four, who had held office under Shelburne.



WILLIAM PITT

PITT AND THE NEW TORY PARTY

The younger Pitt was curiously unlike his father. He lacked Chatham's breadth of view, impulsiveness, and impatience of detail, and was cool, able, and methodical. His youth handicapped him little, because he was old for his years, reserved, and serious. He was a clear and fluent speaker but lacked the eloquence of such great orators as Fox and Burke. In his youth he favoured Parliamentary reform, and there was little difference between his principles and those of his opponent, Fox. But their opinions developed in different directions, and in time Pitt became a Tory and Fox a Liberal. Pitt's courage is shown by

the fact that he accepted and kept office after the fall of the Fox-North coalition, for he depended entirely on royal support, and had no majority in the Commons. After maintaining his position for three months, he obtained a dissolution, and the election of 1784 gave him a majority in Parliament

Pitt's ministry lasted for eighteen years (1783-1801), during which he built up a new Tory party out of the King's Friends, the old Tories, and his father's followers, the Chathamite Whigs. This Tory party was almost as powerful as the Whigs had been during the first part of the eighteenth century. The remnant of the Whigs united under the leadership of Fox, who was destined to spend most of his career in opposition. Pitt had supported Parliamentary reform, but his party opposed it, and it was abandoned. The Tories managed Parliament and elections by much the same means as those used by the Whigs, though Burke's "Economical Reforms" had done something to check corruption. Under Pitt's rule cabinet and party government were restored. The attempt of George III to overthrow them had been a failure, though he had certainly helped to overthrow the Whigs. But royal influence remained important, and Pitt managed the King with tact, retaining royal support as well as that of the House of Commons.

1714-1783

Reigns

GEORGE I, 1714-1727 GEORGE II, 1727-1760 GEORGE III, 1760-1820

Ministries

Stanhope, 1714-1720	Walpole, 1721-1742
Carteret, 1742-1744	The Pelhams, 1744-1754
Newcastle, 1754-1756	Pitt-Devonshire, 1756-1757
Pitt-Newcastle, 1757-1761	Bute, 1762-1763
Grenville, 1763-1765	Rockingham, 1765-1766
Chatham, 1766-1768	Grafton, 1768-1770
North, 1770-1782	Rockingham, 1782
Shelburne, 1782-1783	Fox-North, 1783

Pitt, 1783-1801

Events

	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>India</i>
1714	1714 Riot Act			
1716	1715 Jacobite rising	1715 Death of Louis XIV		
		1717 Triple Alliance		
1718	1718 Protestants' Interests Act	1718 Battle at Cape Passaro		
	1719 Declaratory Act			
1720	1720 South Sea Bubble			
1722	1722 Wood's Halfpence			
1724				
1726				
1728				
1730				
1732				
	1733 Excise Bill		1733 { Molasses Act Georgia founded	
1734				
1736				
1738				
		1739 War of Jenkins' Ear		1739 Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah

<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>India</i>
	1740 <i>War of the Austrian Suc- cession</i>		
	1743 Battle of Dettingen	1744 Capture of Louisbourg.	1744 Loss of Ma- dras
1745 Jacobite ris- ing	1745 Battle of Fontenoy		
1746 Culloden	1748 Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle		1751 Siege of Ai- cot
	1756 { Diplomat- ic Revo- lution <i>Seven Years' War</i>	1755 Defeat of Braddock at Fort Duquesne	1756 Black Hole of Calcutta
	1757 Hasten- beck and Klostersevern		1757 Battle of Plassey
	1759 Minden, Lagos, and Quiberon Bay	1758 Capture of Louisbourg and Ft Duquesne 1759 Capture of Quebec	
		1760 Capture of Montreal	1760 Battle of Wandewash
	1763 Peace of Paris	1764 Sugar Act 1765 Stamp Act 1766 Declaratory Act 1767 Townshend Duties	1764 Battle of Buxar

	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>America</i>	<i>India</i>
1768	1769, Middlesex election			
1770				
1772				
1774			1773 "Boston Tea-party" 1774 The "In- tolerable Acts" 1775 <i>War of In- dependence</i> Lexington and Bunker's Hill.	1773 North's Re- gulating Act
1776			Declar- ation of In- depen- dence 1776 Evacu- ation of Bos- ton 1777 Saratoga	
1778		1778 France entered 1779 Spain entered	the war the war	
1780	1780 { Dunning's motion Gordon riots	1780 Armed Neu- trality	1781 Surrender at Yorktown	1781 Battle of Porto Novo
1782	1782 Economical Reforms	1782 Relief of Gibraltar 1783 Peace of Versailles		

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL METHODS

In the eighteenth century England was still a land of villages and small towns and most of the people were engaged in agriculture. The most usual type of village consisted of a single street of farmhouses and cottages, with a church and parsonage, and very often a hall or manor-house. Around the village lay its cultivated land, still in great stretches known as "open fields." These open fields were divided by narrow "balks" of unploughed land into a number of strips. The farmers of the district united in cultivating them, each farmer having his land, not together in a single block, but in a number of scattered strips spread over the village fields.

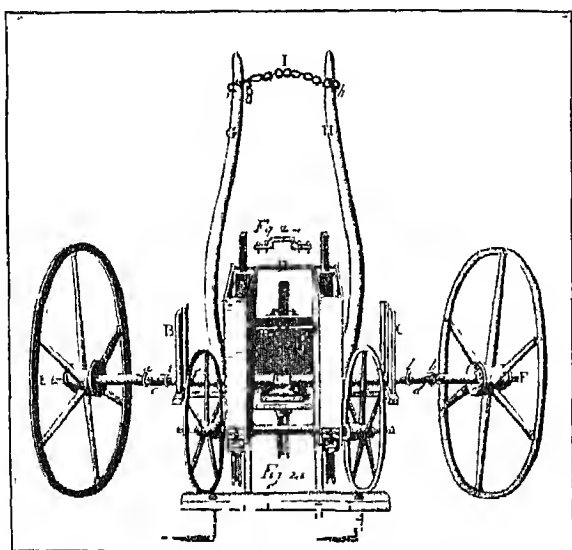
This system of open-field cultivation was a survival from the Middle Ages, and it did not exist all over England. In Kent, Devon and Cornwall, and on the Welsh border hedged fields had appeared early. In other parts of the country, from the fourteenth century onwards, landowners and enterprising farmers had enclosed portions of waste, pasture, and of the common fields either for sheep-rearing or, more rarely, to grow corn. But in most of the east and the midlands the open fields still remained.

The eighteenth century saw various improvements in agriculture. Tull introduced new methods of working the land and of sowing seeds. Lord Townshend, after he had left politics because he could not agree with Walpole, popularised the growing of turnips as winter fodder for cattle. Instead of cattle being slaughtered in autumn because of the difficulty of feeding them in winter, they could now be kept, and a supply of fresh meat ensured at all times of the year. The three-year course of agriculture—wheat, corn, and fallow—was replaced by a four-year rotation of crops—wheat, clover, corn, and turnips, which kept the land always in use. Being better worked, the land was more

productive, and far more wheat was grown. At the same time the selective breeding of stock was introduced, and in the reign of George III Coke of Norfolk and Bakewell greatly improved the existing strains of sheep and cattle, increasing their size and weight tremendously.

ENCLOSURES

A result of these improvements was bigger profits, and enterprising landowners began to invest capital freely in their



JETHRO TULL'S WHEAT DRILL

From Tull's *Horre-Hoeng Husbandry*

estates. Coke spent about £500,000 in improving his Norfolk estates, and his rents increased from £2,000 to about £20,000 a year. The rich, seeing an opportunity for investment, were impatient of the open-field system, and of the rights of the villagers that stood in the way of the new farming. Where several farmers worked the land in common, new methods could only be introduced by general consent. Waste land and pasture could not be developed while villagers had rights there. So the help of Parliament was secured in a series of enclosure Acts.

These Acts permitted open fields, pasture and waste to be split up into hedged fields. The rights of villagers were bought up for small sums of money, large farms were established, and the spread of advanced methods of agriculture made possible.

An Act for enclosure applied only to land in a particular place, but during the period between 1760 and 1840 the land in one district after another was enclosed till, by the end of that period, few open fields were left. During the last years of the eighteenth century the amount of corn grown in England rose sharply, and this enabled the country to supply its own food during the long war with Napoleon. The improvement of roads and the construction of canals made it easier to send agricultural produce to distant places for sale, and the country districts found a market in the rapidly increasing population of the towns. Farmers prospered, and farmers and landowners sank their capital in improvements on their estates and farms. But when the war was over, the price of corn fell and much money was lost.

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOURER

Meanwhile a great change had taken place in the position of the villagers. As a result of the enclosure Acts country people had lost their rights in the enclosed common land and pasture, and the compensation they had received in money or land was inadequate. Small farmers, who could not afford improvements, had to sell their holdings and work for wages. During the Napoleonic war the cost of living rose, and the country labourer became abjectly poor. Local authorities made the situation worse by hiring out paupers at cheap rates to work on the farms, so that farmers would not pay the wage of an ordinary labourer. It was the business of the magistrates to regulate wages, and in 1795 the Berkshire magistrates met at Speenhamland to perform this duty. Unwisely they tried to solve the problem by supplementing wages by poor relief. They drew up a scale by which a labourer was to receive a total of 3/- a week for himself, and 1/6 for each of his dependants, when the loaf of bread cost 1/-. This measure effectively prevented wages from rising, and placed the worker in the position of a pauper, dependent on parish relief.



A COUNTRY INN YARD WITH A TYPICAL COACH OF THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Thus the economic changes of the eighteenth century destroyed the freedom and independence of village life. Large farmers thrived and prospered and the rents of landowners increased, but the agricultural worker was reduced to extreme poverty, and often to starvation. His self-respect was undermined by the necessity for poor-relief and the impossibility of making a living wage. He had no incentive to work harder than was necessary, for he had nothing to gain. He had no opportunity for thrift since he received no relief while he had money of his own, so his savings were sure to vanish. The result of all this was demoralisation and resentment. The labourer became hostile to the farmer and landowner, and sack-burning, robbery, and poaching became frequent. For a time, the upper and middle classes came to regard the poor as necessarily dangerous and disorderly.

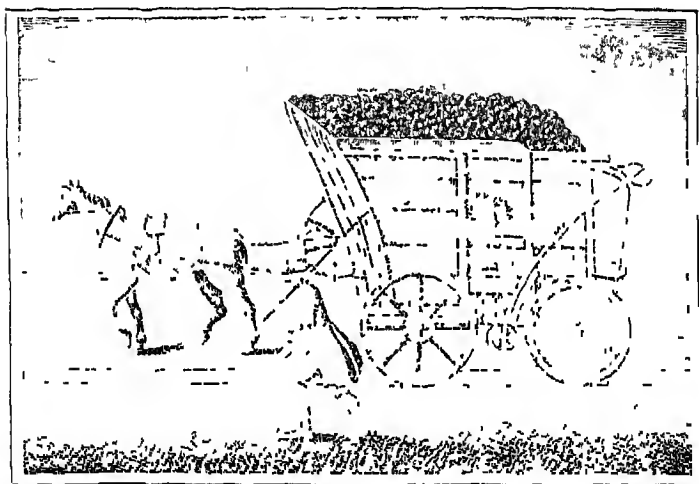
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

During the eighteenth century revolutionary changes took place in industry as well as in agriculture. This "Industrial Revolution" had many aspects. It included the use of machinery and of steam power in manufacture, the development of new means of transport, and the replacement of domestic manufactures by the factory system. It changed England from an agricultural to an industrial country, with a population that was concentrated in large towns instead of being scattered through the countryside in villages. Though from one point of view the change came rapidly, and caused much suffering by upsetting the life of the nation, yet it stretched over a long period—the last half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth.

In the early years of the eighteenth century English manufactures were still carried on by hand, either in small shops, the master of which employed a few workmen, or in the home, where a man and his family worked together at spinning and weaving. The workers used the tools and methods used by their ancestors. New methods were regarded with suspicion and disfavour. By the eighteenth century, however, this conservative spirit was disappearing, and the development of overseas trade was creating an increasing demand for goods. Enterprising manufacturers were ready to welcome the inventions that brought the use of machinery into industry.

IRON, COAL, AND TRANSPORT

But the use of machinery on any large scale would have been impossible if means had not been found to increase the supply of iron available to make it. Iron had been smelted in England from early times by the use of charcoal. Wood for the charcoal was obtained from the forests, so the iron industry had had to establish itself where both wood and iron ore could be obtained, and flourished in the forests of the Sussex Weald. So long as wood had to be used in smelting, the supply of iron was limited,



COAL WAGON

(From *London Magazine*, 1764)

and as the English forests became exhausted, the English iron industry threatened to disappear. But at the beginning of the eighteenth century a process was discovered by which cast-iron could be smelted with coal, and fifty years later coal was also used to produce iron for forging. By the Cort processes coal was also applied to the forging of iron, and the iron industry moved from the southern forests to the coalfields of the midlands and the north.

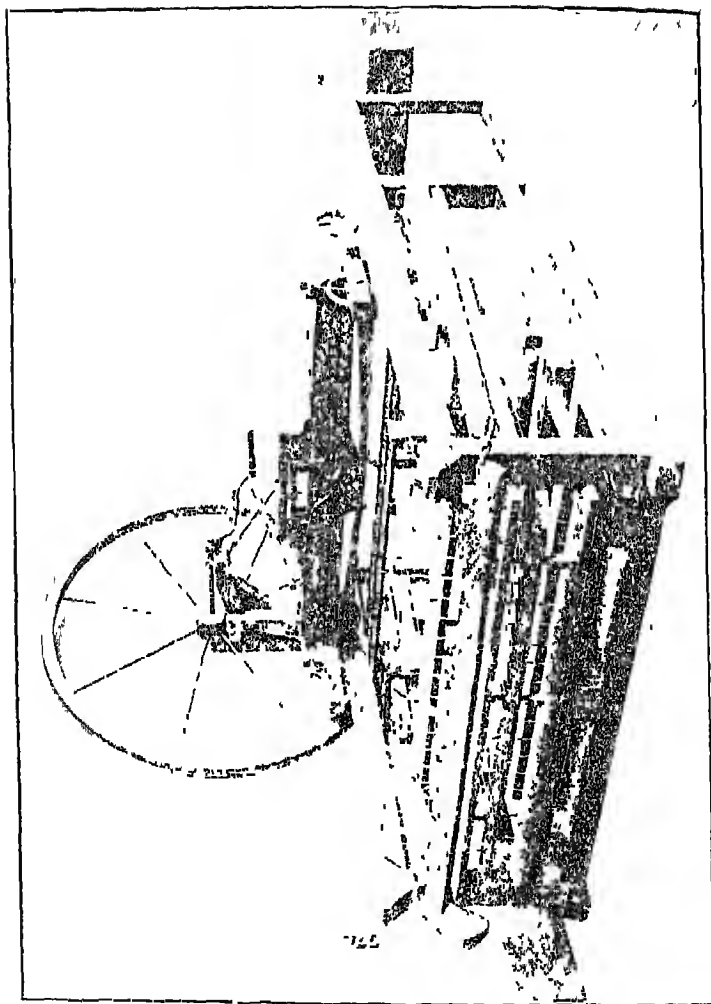
The demand for coal to be used in smelting iron made coal-mining an important industry. The need for coal reacted upon

the development of transport and of steam power. The first canals were built to carry coal cheaply and, when James Watt supplied a steam engine that could be used successfully to supply motive power for machinery (1776), it was applied to the pumping of water out of mines. Steam, coal, and iron were all essential to the mechanisation of industry.

Another need was better transport. At the beginning of the eighteenth century roads were very bad, most of them unpaved tracks, full of holes, and almost impassable in bad weather. Each parish was supposed to keep its own roads in order, but actually little or nothing was done to repair them. The first improvement was made by Turnpike Trusts, which undertook the responsibility of keeping a road in order in return for the right to levy a toll upon travellers. These trusts greatly improved English roads during the second half of the eighteenth century. During its last years, John Macadam was perfecting his process for making a hard road surface by the use of small pieces of granite. As roads improved, goods could be moved by wagon instead of by pack-horse, and regular coaching-services made the movements of travellers easier. At the same time the canals were being built, the first being the one between Worsley and Manchester constructed by Brindley in 1761. Transport of goods by canal was cheaper and more convenient than by road, and England was soon covered with a network of these waterways.

MACHINERY IN THE COTTON AND WOOLLEN INDUSTRIES

The import of cotton goods from India had threatened the English woollen trade. When this import was checked by law, the cotton manufacture in the Pennine dales of Lancashire developed rapidly. The cotton industry was young and therefore progressive, and was the first to make use of the mechanical inventions of the eighteenth century. The first of these inventions were new methods of spinning, which had so far been carried on by the spinning wheel. In 1770 Hargreaves invented the spinning jenny, in which one wheel turned several spindles. It was named after his wife, who, like most of the women in the neighbourhood, took in spinning. He is said to have thought of the idea while watching his wife's spinning wheel continue to revolve on its side after it had been knocked over. Later, means



A REPLICA OF HARGREAVE'S SPINNING JENNY (1750-1751)

were discovered for working the spinning frame by water power, and spinning began to be done in mills instead of at home. These mills were at first small and were situated in the Pennine dales, where water power was to be had. Then, during the Napoleonic war steam power was used to work the frames, and mills became larger and more numerous.

The use of machinery in spinning produced so much thread that the weavers had more work than they could do. In 1785 Cartwright had invented a power loom, but it did not work well, and hand-weaving continued till the end of the century. Then, in 1803 Horrocks invented an efficient power-loom, and weaving too became mechanical and was carried on in factories.

The woollen manufacturers were slow to adopt the new machinery. The spinning jenny was not used for wool till the last years of the eighteenth century, and handloom weaving continued to be customary in the woollen trade through the early years of the nineteenth. Possibly the slowness of the change was due to the conservatism of an old industry, for the cloth trade had been the staple English industry since the later Middle Ages. It had been carried on in various parts of England, but after the introduction of machinery and of the factory system its chief centre continued to be the West Riding of Yorkshire.

Her ample supplies of coal and iron made it possible for England to develop manufactures based on steam power and machinery. She now rapidly became the foremost industrial nation of the world, a position which she maintained throughout the nineteenth century. But this pre-eminence, and the wealth that went with it, were obtained at a great cost to her workers. The use of power looms threw the weavers out of work. The possibility of employing women and children to tend machines in factories caused wages to fall, and the town worker, like the country labourer, was reduced to poverty and often starvation. The fact that the workers associated the use of machines with low wages and unemployment led to assaults on mills, and to the frame-breaking of the early years of the nineteenth century. But in reality unemployment and low wages were also the result of an enormous increase in population. This increase in population was largely due to medical knowledge. The smallpox which had ravaged the country during the eighteenth century was checked, and there were various sanitary improvements.

WORKERS UNDER THE FACTORY SYSTEM

An effect of the development of the factory system was to concentrate workers in towns. The industrial towns of the north grew at an enormous pace. Low wages and unemployment in the country drove country labourers to the towns, and supplied more labour than was needed, even for the rapid expansion of industry. Conditions, both in the factories and in the homes of the workers were bad and insanitary, though possibly little



FACTORY SCENE ABOUT 1840

Rischgitz

worse than had prevailed when spinning and weaving had been carried on in country cottages. But there was an organised brutality in the early factory system that the domestic system of industry must have lacked. Small children were worked in the factories for twelve or fifteen hours at a stretch under the direction of overseers, and under rigid, and often cruel discipline. In the coal-mining industry women and children worked under terrible conditions, and little care was taken for the safety of the miners. The period had all the evils of a time of transition, when an old system has broken down, and a new one is in the process of being evolved.

During the industrial revolution suffering was intensified by the theories of the day, which upheld free industrial development. Prosperity was no longer thought to consist in the existence of an independent, self-supporting population, but in the accumulation of national wealth. It was held that no check must be put upon the expansion of industry, and that wages and conditions of work must be left to adjust themselves. Employers thought that the Government should keep order by preventing combinations of workmen, but should do nothing to protect the worker, or to ensure him a decent standard of living. The day of the enlightened employer of labour was yet to come, though even at this time some employers treated their men well, and tried to improve conditions generally. But the new mill owners were, in most cases men who had pushed their way up from the ranks of the working class. They were too narrow and uneducated to sympathise with their workmen, or to see that conditions to which they themselves had been accustomed ought to be bettered.

RELIGION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century the religious indifference and scepticism that had appeared among the upper classes after the Restoration spread rapidly. Critical and enquiring minds interested themselves in science and philosophy, instead of in theological disputes. The century has been nicknamed the "age of prose and reason," and religious enthusiasm was looked upon with disfavour.

In the Church of England the High Church spirit of Anne's reign had died down. The Church became rather colourless in its teachings, closely allied with the gentry, many of whose sons were clergymen. The country parson was often a magistrate,



A SABBATH EVENING SCHOOL IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and his life was, in many cases, the same as that of the squire. A gulf had appeared between the parson, who belonged to the gentry, and the villagers, and the Church at this time neglected the spiritual needs of the poor.

Like Churchmen, Dissenters had become more moderate with the passage of time, and had lost much of their Puritan enthusiasm. The Toleration Act (1689) had given them freedom of worship, but religious tests still prevented a rigid Dissenter from holding any office in central or local government. But the Whigs passed annual Indemnity Acts to safeguard those who ignored this prohibition. Dissent was, however, confined to the middle and lower classes, though, like the Church, it did little for the very poor.

Catholics were less fortunate than Dissenters. They had not been granted freedom of worship, and they were not permitted to teach in schools, nor to possess land. Popular hostility to them was not dead. The adoption by England (1751) of the Gregorian calendar, which was in use in Europe, led to an outcry against "Popey," because the reformed calendar had been drawn up by the orders of Pope Gregory XIII (1582). In 1778 Catholics received certain concessions. They were permitted to hold land, to have their own schools, and to take the oath of allegiance in a form acceptable to their faith. This led to the Gordon riots (1780), which almost ended in the destruction of London.

METHODISM THE EVANGELICAL MOVEMENT

But the eighteenth century was destined to witness the establishment of a new and enthusiastic religious sect—the Methodists. Their founder, John Wesley, not only began his career as a High Churchman, but died a member of the Church of England, and it was only the hostility of the Church that forced him to do much of his work outside its boundaries. Wesley was a religious enthusiast, who, while at Oxford, got together a small group of friends who united in religious observances. It was the precision with which this group attended to its religious duties that gave rise to the nickname "Methodists."

Wesley went to do missionary work in Georgia (1735), but was not very successful there. It was his preaching tours in England, after his return, that made his name. Wesley was helped by his brother, Charles Wesley, and by George Whitfield,



JOHN WESLEY PREACHING FROM A MARKET CROSS
From the painting by W Hatherell, R A

but Whitfield soon left him, and went to begin a religious revival in Wales. The English Church mistrusted Wesley's enthusiasm, and having no love for wandering preachers, the clergy would not lend him their churches. This forced him to preach in the open air, and brought him into close contact with the poor. Since the Church did not countenance his followers, Wesley was forced to encourage them to establish congregations and chapels of their own. The Methodists eventually broke away from the Church altogether, and became a dissenting sect.

The religious revival brought about by the Wesleys affected other religious bodies. The other Dissenters became more enthusiastic, and a revival in the Church of England, the "Evangelical Movement," began. This was regarded with dislike by many churchmen, because it was tinged with the spirit of Methodism. These religious revivals were accompanied by a revolt against the indifference to other people's sufferings that had characterised the earlier part of the century, and by the development of the humanitarian spirit that manifested itself in agitations for the abolition of slavery, for prison reform, and for the relaxation of the penal code.

WILBERFORCE'S ANTI-SLAVERY CAMPAIGN

But religion and humanitarianism were not always bed-fellows. Many religious people showed no interest in the suffering of their fellows, and many who agitated for humanitarian reforms had no interest in religion. And those who showed sympathy with one type of suffering often had no wish to relieve another. For instance Wilberforce, the champion of the slaves, opposed the abolition of flogging in the army. Also a great many of the movements for reform now set on foot did not achieve their object till the nineteenth century. Still, it is indisputable that a more humane spirit was beginning to appear.

The abolition of the slave trade (1806) was a work of great importance. Britain's colonial supremacy gave her rejection of slavery great weight in deciding the fate of that institution, and checked the enslavement of the native population of Africa, when that continent was explored and partitioned by Europeans during the nineteenth century. The leader of the anti-slavery agitation was William Wilberforce, a gentleman of Hull. He had been

converted to Evangelicism, and his social connections gave him considerable influence with people of political importance outside his own sect. Wilberforce had the support of the Quakers and the other Dissenters, and of the greater part of the middle classes, especially in Yorkshire. But so long as Pitt remained in power nothing was done, for, though Pitt sympathised with the anti-slavery campaign, he had become very unwilling to interfere with vested interests. It was left for Fox to abolish the slave trade.

Meanwhile, the factory system was bringing slavery to children in England, but, in spite of the work of Peel and Owen, some time was to elapse before any effective regulation of hours and conditions in factories was to be obtained.

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CHAPTER XXXIX

FRANCE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WARS

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

While the Industrial Revolution in England was ushering in the age of machinery, the French Revolution was bringing to an end the old social and political order in western Europe. An age was beginning in which people were no longer content to leave government to kings and aristocracies. States were no longer regarded as the property of ruling families such as the Hapsburgs or the Bourbons.

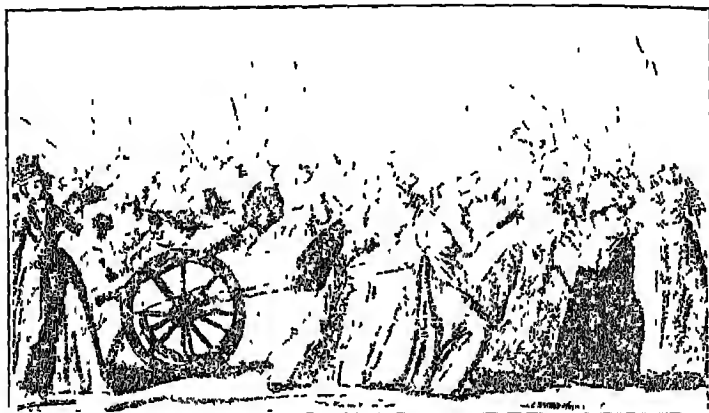
In eighteenth-century France the people had no political power, but they had to bear the whole cost of government. The nobles and clergy were privileged orders, who paid no taxes. National taxation was heavy, and in addition to this, the French peasants had to pay even heavier dues to the lord upon whose estates they lived. These payments went to support an inefficient and badly organised system of government, and to fill the pockets of nobles who seldom visited the estates from which they drew their wealth. The peasants were also burdened with church tithes, most of which went to the rich prelates, while the parish priests remained almost as poor as the people among whom they worked.

This state of things was the fault of nobody in particular. The French nobility were, on the whole, enlightened and cultured, and in many cases were critics of the corrupt system under which they lived. Ministers of state were often public-spirited, and made attempts to remedy abuses. The King, Louis XVI, though he had little capacity or taste for politics, was kindly and conscientious. But every one was in the grip of an obsolete social and political system. Royal fear of the local influence of the nobles had forced them to leave their estates and become useless courtiers. The government of the country had passed into the hands of innumerable officials. Many of these had little to do and their offices were often either inherited, or bought by the holders for the sake of their profits.

VOLTAIRE, MONTESQUIEU AND ROUSSEAU

The French government was no worse than that of other European states. Privileged nobilities and oppressed peasantries existed all over Europe. But in the eighteenth century France was a centre of political and philosophical thought. The educated classes were rapidly losing their respect for tradition, and for the established order. They were learning to challenge all existing institutions both in Church and State.

The brilliant and sceptical Voltaire attacked Catholicism. He called attention, in witty and biting satires, to the worldly



À VERSAILLES, À VERSAILLES, OCTOBER 5, 1789

and extravagant lives of the upper clergy, and advocated an attitude of toleration or indifference in religious matters. Voltaire could point to England as a country where various creeds existed side by side without causing national demoralisation.

It was to England also that Montesquieu, the critic of the French political system, turned for an example of a model constitution. His interpretation of the English constitution did not correspond very closely with reality, but Voltaire and Montesquieu led men to desire a reform of existing institutions in France.

Rousseau's teaching struck at the root of the whole French system. He taught that all men were born free and had a right

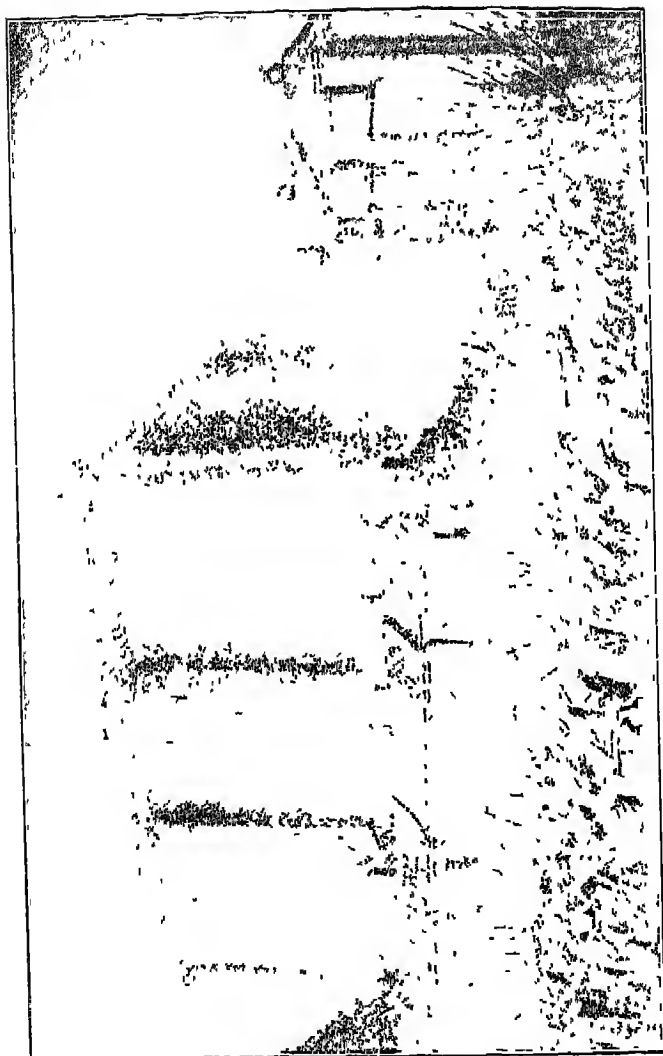
to a voice in their own government. Rousseau argued that rulers drew their authority from the people, and that if they did not give the good government for which they received their power, they should be overthrown. These ideas of equality, and of government in accordance with the general will were directly contrary to the French system of privilege. They were eagerly seized upon by the middle classes, who were jealous of the nobility.

The Government tried to suppress the works of these philosophers, but this only made them the more eagerly read and discussed. Meanwhile, the War of American Independence provided a practical example of a struggle for liberty, and the expense of the French intervention in this war threw French finances into disorder. Since the privileged classes refused to contribute to taxation, an assembly representative of the whole nation, the States General, was summoned (1789).

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION

The King and his ministers saw the necessity for giving the nation a voice in its affairs. They allotted to the people, the "Third Estate," twice as many representatives in the States-General as to the privileged orders of clergy and nobility, and granted all tax-payers over twenty-five a voice in their election. Then the Government became alarmed because the representatives of the Third Estate would be able to out-vote those of the clergy and nobility. An attempt was made to force the three Estates to meet and vote separately. The deputies of the Third Estate at once saw through this device, and when they could not force the Government to let the States-General meet and vote as a single body, they declared themselves a "National Assembly." They swore not to separate till France had been given a constitution. This defiance of royal power was the first act of the Revolution.

Louis XVI met this defiance with his usual indecision. He gave way to the deputies, and ordered the clergy and the nobles to join the National Assembly. But at the same time troops were brought to Paris, and this provoked the opponents of the Government. The Paris mob attacked and destroyed the royal fortress of the Bastille. This outbreak of mob violence, accompanied by many atrocities, was hailed by the National Assembly



THE CAPTURE OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14TH, 1789
The commencement of the French Revolution in the reign of Louis XVI

and by advanced thinkers in many parts of Europe, as a death-blow to tyranny. Actually, the Bastille was little more than a medieval relic, and had long ceased to be an instrument of oppression.

After the fall of the Bastille, the Revolution was hurried along by forces over which the National Assembly had little control. The citizens of Paris, terrified by mob violence, established a municipal government of their own, the "Commune." They also raised a "National Guard" of citizens, which adopted colours of red, white, and blue. The citizens of the other French towns, finding that the old system had broken down and that they must depend upon themselves to keep order, imitated Paris and also established Communes and National Guards.

Meanwhile the general disorder caused a wave of panic to spread through the country. The peasants armed themselves and attacked the country-houses of their lords, burning the registers that contained records of the services due from them. Looting and rioting broke out all over France, and hurried the National Assembly into the abolition of all feudal rights and privileges. It was hoped that the removal of the peasant grievances might lead to the restoration of order.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The National Assembly desired to avoid revolutionary excesses and to establish a constitutional monarchy. It drew up a written constitution, reformed the administration and made all administrative posts elective. Votes were given to tax-payers—that is, to the middle class. For the first time, France was united under a uniform system of government. When it had completed its task, the Assembly dissolved itself, and made way for a Legislative Assembly elected in accordance with the new constitution.

Unfortunately, circumstances were against the smooth working of the new system. The new Assembly did not trust the King, who had made an attempt to escape from France, and was almost a prisoner. The Queen was known to be intriguing with foreign powers, and with the French aristocrats who had fled abroad. Moreover, the Assembly could not control the nation, and was itself under the influence of the Paris mob, which supported its more violent members, the Jacobins.

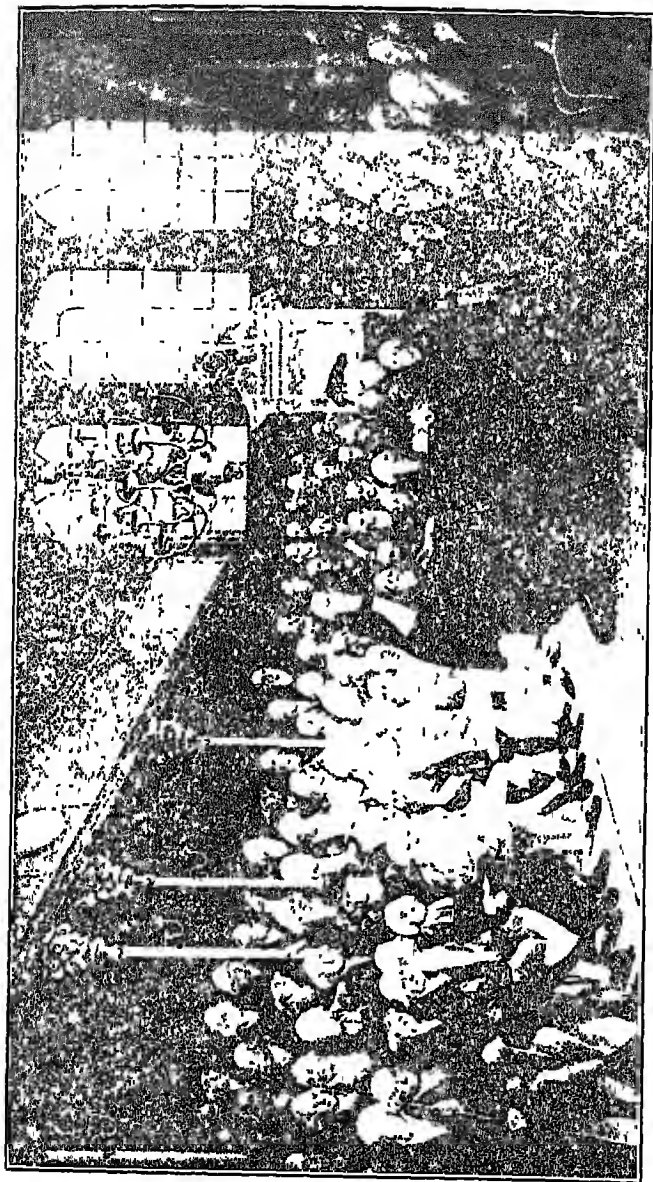
The mob had forced the King to leave Versailles and come to Paris, so the deputies were in constant fear of the Parisians. The Commune and the National Guard, originally established to keep order, had become the instruments of the revolutionaries. The supporters of constitutional government could not control the revolution they had begun, and the intervention of foreign powers soon led to a war that resulted in the downfall of the French monarchy.

PITT'S FINANCIAL REFORMS

When the French Revolution began (1789) England was peaceful and prosperous. Her defeat in the War of Independence (1775-1783) had left her still with naval and colonial supremacy. France, who had supported the Americans, was financially crippled, while England's trade with the American colonies actually increased after they had become independent.

Pitt, who came into office at the end of George III's struggle with the Whigs (1783), showed himself an able politician. He built up a new Tory party out of his own followers, the Chathamite Whigs, the "King's Friends" party built up by George III, and the remnants of the old Tory party. Because this Tory party would not pass any measure of Parliamentary reform, Pitt was obliged to abandon his attempts to reform the existing system, and the Tories controlled Parliament by much the same means as had been used by the Whigs.

Pitt re-organised the government of India and Canada by his India Act (1783), and his Canada Act (1791). He also showed more interest in, and ability for finance than any minister had done since the time of Walpole. Previously, the money obtained from each tax had been assigned to a particular purpose. Pitt established a single "Consolidated Fund," into which all revenue was gathered, and from which all expenditure was paid. This greatly simplified Parliamentary finance. He also carried out a thorough revision of the duties charged upon imports, for a study of Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (1776) had converted him to the new economic doctrine of Free Trade. Smith argued that the Government should place no restrictions upon trade and industry. Pitt, though he did not abolish import duties altogether, greatly reduced them. This checked smuggling, which became less profitable. Trade so increased that the Government received more revenue than before.



PITT ADDRESSING THE HOUSE

Interior of House of Commons, St Stephen's Chapel, 1793 Members present included Canning, Wilberforce, Sheridan, Erskine, C J Fox Painting by K Anton Hickel

In 1786, in accordance with his free trade principles, Pitt negotiated a commercial treaty with the French. Duties were reduced upon British cotton, woollen, and iron goods exported to France, in return for a similar reduction of duties on French wines and silks. Neither Pitt nor the rest of England was expecting the destruction of the French monarchy, and of the old social and political order. Just before the outbreak of the Revolution, English travellers in France saw no sign of the approaching upheaval. In 1788 the attention of English politicians was claimed by a quarrel over the regency during George III.'s temporary fit of insanity. The Whig leader, Fox, declared that the position of Regent belonged by right to the Prince of Wales. Pitt argued that the Regent ought to be chosen by Parliament. Before the dispute had been decided George III recovered his sanity, and his son did not become Prince Regent till 1812.

ENGLISH POLITICIANS AND THE REVOLUTION

To understand the attitude of England to the French Revolution it is necessary to realise that the eighteenth century was a time of deep respect for established institutions. In spite of a certain amount of free thinking among the upper classes, the opinions of most of the nation were tinged by their religious beliefs. The existing order of things was regarded as a divine dispensation, dividing people into rich and poor, rulers and ruled. Civilisation was not held to be constantly changing and progressing, but to be a fixed state. An upheaval such as the French Revolution was not thought of as a change in the order of things, but as a return from civilisation to anarchy. This attitude was strengthened by the excesses of the revolution and by the execution of aristocrats, who were in many cases well-known in English society.

But in England, as in France, there was an educated and cultured minority of advanced thinkers. This minority was ready, with Voltaire, to criticise existing institutions, and to accept Rousseau's doctrine of the general will. To some of these people, as to Wordsworth, the French Revolution seemed a new dawn of liberty, and the fall of the Bastille one of the great events of history. Others, less idealistic, were at least willing to accept Montesquieu's theory of the perfection of the English

constitution, and to sympathise with the French attempt to establish a constitutional monarchy on the English model

In English politics all these points of view were represented. The Whig leader, Fox, who had sympathised with the Americans in their demand for independence and was a supporter of Parliamentary reform in England, now became the champion of the French Revolution. In spite of the atrocities that marked its course, he regarded it as a great movement towards liberty. But Fox represented only the more advanced section of Whig thought. The other Whig leader, Burke, saw the Revolution from a different standpoint, and denounced it from the first in his famous "Reflections on the French Revolution." Meanwhile, the cautious and moderate Pitt, the leader of the Tories, was inclined, without upholding or condemning the Revolution, to leave the French to work out a new Constitution for themselves.

It was French foreign policy rather than opposition to the Revolution, that finally led Pitt into war with France. But, before war began, a large section of the Whigs, influenced by Burke's "Reflections," had deserted Fox and joined Pitt. Fox and his supporters, the Dissenters, became very unpopular. Riots occurred in which the houses and chapels of Dissenters were attacked, including the house of the scientist, Priestley, at Birmingham. After the outbreak of war Fox maintained his friendly attitude to France, and so laid himself open to be charged with lack of patriotism.

POLICY OF REPRESSION

Unfortunately their opposition to the French Revolution drove Pitt and his followers to repression and reaction. Fear that revolution might spread to England made them feel that the only safe policy was to abandon all reform and to uphold the existing order. They did not realise that the discontent of the working class in England was due to the suffering caused by economic changes, and not to any desire to stir up a revolution on the French model. The evils that arose from the Industrial Revolution were making reforms necessary, but these reforms were not begun till the nineteenth century, and discontent was met by a policy of repression.

Movements among the workers to secure political representation, or improved conditions, were taken as evidence

of revolutionary feeling, and were sternly suppressed. Tom Paine had replied to Burke's "Reflections" by the "Rights of Man" (1791), which demanded representative government. Thomas Hardy, a shoemaker, founded the "Corresponding Society" to study means of obtaining reform. But this working class agitation was regarded as dangerous. Hardy was prosecuted for treason, and Corresponding Societies were suppressed. When other leaders were similarly prosecuted, juries refused to convict them, and this checked the worst extremes of repression. But Acts were passed to punish those who advocated reform, and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act (1794-1801) enabled the Government to imprison without trial those accused of treason.

The attitude of the Whig leader, Fox, during this period of repression, was of great value to England. By keeping alive a political party that favoured liberalism and Parliamentary reform, he paved the way for reform of the constitution in the nineteenth century by Parliamentary means, instead of by a revolution.

OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

In 1791 France had established her constitutional monarchy, but the situation was dangerous and unstable. The revolutionary party, the Jacobins, under the leadership of Robespierre, Marat, and Danton, had the support of the Paris commune and of the mob, and were rapidly gaining control of the Assembly. The new Government mistrusted the King, who was practically a prisoner, and the aristocrats who had left France were appealing for help to the European powers. Austria and Prussia made a mistaken attempt to strengthen the French monarchy by the "Declaration of Pillnitz." This demanded the restoration of absolute monarchy, and had the effect of driving the French to declare war on Austria (1792).

France was unprepared for war and her army was in disorder. It was only the dilatory advance of her enemies that prevented them from seizing Paris. The capture of Verdun plunged the French into a panic, and the extreme party got control of affairs. Royalists were imprisoned, and, in the "September Massacres" the prisoners were butchered by the mob.

About the same time the French gained a small success at Valmy, and this proved to be the turning point of the war. The

Prussians were more interested in the proposed partition of Poland than in events in France, and began to retreat. A new French Assembly, the National Convention, met and declared France a Republic, and at the beginning of the next year (1793) Louis XVI was executed. Meanwhile, after Valmy, the French had proved unexpectedly victorious. They overran Belgium, got control of the Scheldt, which had been closed to foreign ships by international agreement, and opened its commerce to all nations.

PITT'S WAR POLICY. THE FIRST COALITION

Pitt had refused to join Austria and Prussia in coercing the French, but the French conquest of Belgium and their opening the port of Antwerp made war inevitable. In 1793 it was declared by the French. Pitt's qualities were not those of a war minister. His courage, patience, and tenacity kept the struggle alive when his allies deserted him and the English cause seemed overwhelmed by misfortunes. But his policy imitated that of his father, Chatham, in the Seven Years' War. This policy was to maintain English naval supremacy, to attack the French colonies, and to subsidise allies to fight the French in Europe. But the Revolutionary War was a European, not a colonial, struggle. The policy of attacking the French colonies led to a great waste of British troops in the unhealthy West Indies, while the opportunity to crush France in Europe was neglected.

The First Coalition (1793-1795) against France included Britain, Prussia, Austria, Spain, and Holland. France was surrounded by enemies and her army was disorganised and ill-equipped. An energetic advance would have ended the war altogether but the Allies were badly led and unenthusiastic. Britain's attention was mainly fixed on the West Indies. Austria and Prussia wanted to secure a share of Poland, which was being attacked by Russia.

Howe won a naval victory, the "Glorious First of June" (1794), but this battle would have been unnecessary if Pitt had blockaded the French ports more closely. Meanwhile, the alarmed French had established a "Committee of Public Safety," and the "Terroi" began. Opponents of the Revolution were hunted and executed. Carnot, the "Organiser of Victory," re-organised the French army, and compulsory military service

was instituted. The Republicans reconquered Belgium. They also overran Holland, which made peace, and established a republican government (1794). Faced by the French advance, the coalition broke up. Spain made an alliance with France, and Prussia withdrew from the war, so England and Austria were left to fight alone.

BONAPARTE IN EGYPT NAVAL WARFARE

English diplomacy and subsidies had failed to hold the Allies together, and England was now threatened by the combination of the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets. Pitt wanted peace, but in France the Terrorists had been overthrown, and the government was in the hands of the Directory. This group of self-seeking politicians intended to keep themselves in power by



" 1814 "

Gauch

a successful war, and by levying contributions from conquered states

The division of Germany and Italy into small independent states made the French advance easier. In Italy the Corsican soldier, Napoleon Bonaparte, was establishing his reputation (1796-1797). He won a number of victories there, driving the Austrians out of the country, and taking the province of Milan. When peace was concluded between France and Austria at Campo Formio (1797), England lost her last ally. Bonaparte then decided that English power could be most effectively attacked in the East. He sailed for Egypt (1798), with a view to advancing from there to a conquest of India.

During this period British fortunes reached their lowest point. The British fleet had to evacuate the Mediterranean (1796). Ireland was on the verge of revolt, and there was constant danger of a French invasion of England. The British fleet was less up-to-date than the French, and the seamen were discontented. Britain had to deal with the fleets of France, Spain, and the Dutch. In 1797 Admiral Jervis and Nelson defeated the Spanish fleet at Cape St. Vincent, but after this victory naval mutinies occurred, which almost exposed England to invasion.

The Channel fleet, which was watching the French fleet, mutinied at Spithead. This was followed by a mutiny in the North Sea fleet, engaged in watching the Dutch, at the Nore. The sailors had legitimate grievances, and the Spithead mutiny ended with their redress. The mutiny at the Nore was more indefensible, and only Duncan's clever strategy kept the Dutch in the Texel. When the mutiny was ended, the Dutch fleet was decisively defeated at Camperdown, which, together with Cape St. Vincent, re-established British naval supremacy.

It was then decided to send a British fleet to the Mediterranean, and Nelson, who had distinguished himself at Cape St. Vincent, was placed in command of it. Nelson annihilated the French fleet in Aboukir Bay. This Battle of the Nile (1798) cut off Bonaparte, who had conquered Egypt, from France. Bonaparte advanced into Syria, but was checked at Acre (1799) by the Turks, aided by Sir Sidney Smith and an English squadron. He then abandoned his Eastern scheme, deserted his army, and escaped to France. There he used his military reputation to make himself dictator, as "First Consul," while the French army in Egypt was defeated by the English and the Turks (1801).

THE SECOND COALITION. THE ARMED NEUTRALITY

While Bonaparte was in Egypt, Pitt had formed the Second Coalition (1798-1801) of Britain, Austria, Russia, and Turkey. Though a British force was unsuccessful in Holland, the Austrians and Russians cleared the French out of Italy, and drove them back in Switzerland till the Russians were defeated at Zurich. But when Bonaparte returned to France and seized control of the government, allied successes soon came to an end. He took the Austrians in the rear by crossing the St Bernard Pass into Italy, defeated them at Marengo, and reconquered Italy. In Germany the Austrian army was defeated at Hohenlinden, and Austria made peace in the Treaty of Lunéville. Meanwhile the Tsar Paul, who was eccentric and unbalanced, conceived a great admiration for Bonaparte's genius, and allied himself with France against England.

Bonaparte then used European fear of France and jealousy of English naval supremacy to unite Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia in an "Armed Neutrality" against England. The exclusion of British trade from the Baltic was threatened, and there was danger that the French would get control of the fleets of the northern powers. Britain therefore sent a fleet to Copenhagen, under Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, to intimidate Denmark. The Danish Government remained obstinate, and Nelson, acting on his own initiative, attacked and destroyed the Danish fleet. Denmark left the Armed Neutrality, which broke up altogether on the assassination of the Tsar Paul, whose successor, Alexander I, was friendly to Britain.

THE PEACE OF AMIENS

Both Britain and Napoleon were now eager for peace. Pitt had resigned over the Irish question, and had been succeeded by Addington, who negotiated the Treaty of Amiens (1802). Each party was to restore its conquests, though this was unduly favourable to France, which regained its valuable West Indian islands, to the detriment of British trade.

CHAPTER XL

THE NAPOLEONIC WAR

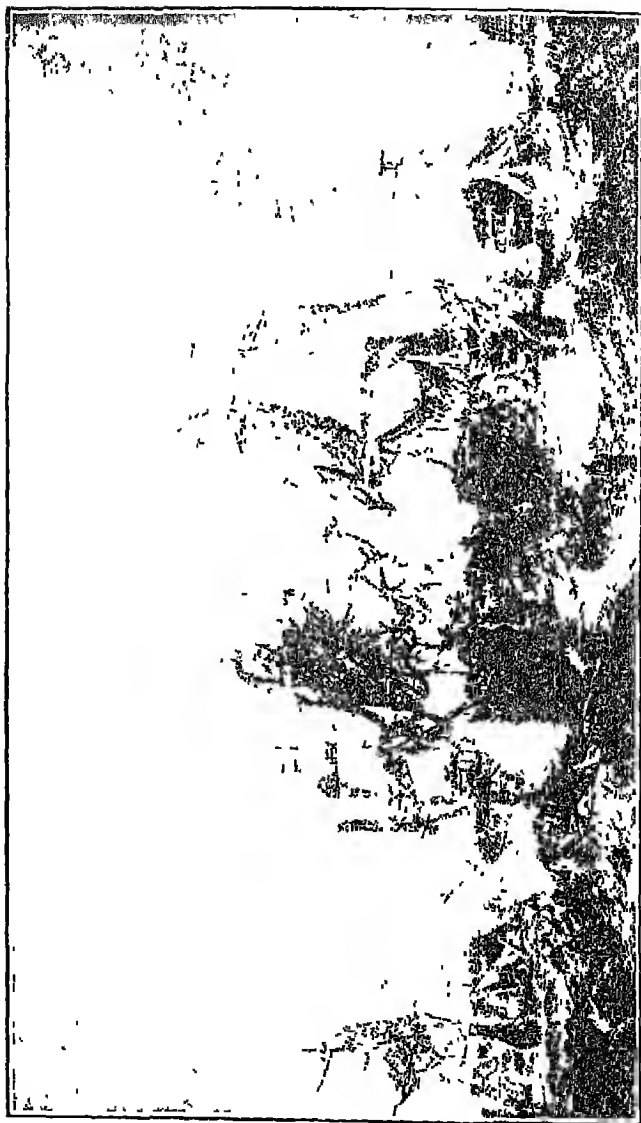
RENEWAL OF THE WAR

The Peace of Amiens (1802) left Bonaparte free to build up an efficient and centralised despotism in France, and to consolidate French supremacy in Europe. After the violence and disorder of the Revolution, the French were glad to submit to strong government, and in 1802 Napoleon was made "Consul" for life. He reformed and re-organised French law and administration. But he could not, apparently, abandon his desire for a great empire, and plunged France into more long and exhausting wars.

France had already pushed her frontier as far north as the Rhine. In 1802 the French annexed Piedmont in northern Italy, while in the rest of Italy and in most of Germany French influence was supreme. Neither Prussia nor Austria was eager to risk another war, and Napoleon was trying to gain the friendship of Russia. He seemed to have little to fear in Europe, and never hesitated in his belief that Britain was the power most dangerous to him. When the British refused to evacuate Malta, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, war broke out again (1803).

Since Napoleon had to deal with England alone, it was possible for him to concentrate his army at Boulogne and make plans for an invasion. The French fleet was in three detachments, stationed at Toulon, Rochefort, and Brest. These ports were blockaded by the British navy, and the French could not transport their army to England unless they could manage to bring out their ships and obtain command of the Channel. The blockade was maintained successfully for two years, during which Pitt (1804-1806) replaced Addington (1801-1804) as Prime Minister, and Napoleon had himself crowned as Emperor of the French (1804).

Then, in 1805, the Toulon fleet, commanded by Villeneuve, escaped from Nelson, who was blockading Toulon, and sailed



BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, AFTER STANFIELD

for the West Indies. The French picked up a part of the Spanish fleet on the way, for Spain had joined France in the war. The situation was dangerous, for Villeneuve meant to destroy British commerce in the West Indies by capturing the British islands, and then to return to Europe to gain control of the Channel. Nelson guessed Villeneuve's plan, and followed him so quickly to the West Indies that the British islands were saved. Villeneuve doubled back to Europe and took refuge in Spanish harbours.

This ended the chance of a French invasion, for Napoleon now had to rush his troops across France to meet the armies of the Third Coalition. Soon afterwards Nelson decisively defeated the French and Spanish fleets off the Spanish coast at Trafalgar (1805). Nelson was killed, but the victory so completely established English naval supremacy that ships could be withdrawn from European waters to attack the French and Spanish colonies.

THE THIRD COALITION

While Nelson was checkmating Villeneuve Pitt had been organising an alliance of Britain, Austria and Russia in the Third Coalition (1805). The French army was stationed at Boulogne for the invasion of England, so the Austrians concentrated at Ulm and waited for the Russians to join them. Napoleon now gave an example of his brilliant strategy. He rushed his army from the coast to central Europe, and cut off the Austrian army at Ulm. The Austrians were forced to capitulate on the day before Nelson's victory at Trafalgar. Napoleon then occupied Vienna, and defeated the combined Austrian and Russian forces at Austerlitz (1805). This reverse smashed the coalition, and Austria made peace in the Treaty of Presburg, while the Russian army retreated to its own country.

Austerlitz seemed to have confirmed the supremacy of France in Europe. It proved a death-blow to Pitt, who, worn-out by the struggle, died in January, 1806. He was succeeded by an alliance between the Whig followers of Fox and the Tory followers of Lord Grenville. This Grenville ministry, nicknamed, because of the brilliance of its members, the "Ministry of All the Talents," is remembered for the abolition of the slave trade. But against the French it was no more successful than Pitt had

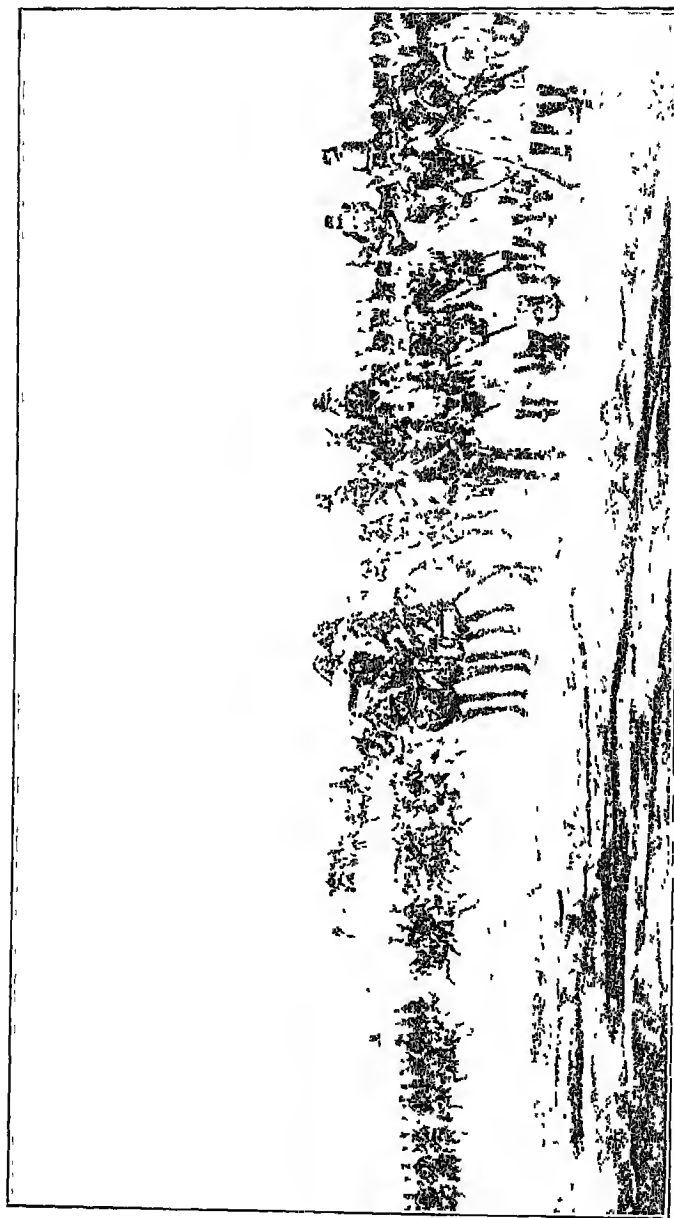
been, and, before the end of the year (1806), it was weakened by the death of Fox. In 1807 Grenville resigned on the question of Catholic Emancipation, and the Whigs went out of office again till 1830. They were succeeded by the Tory ministries of the Duke of Portland (1807-1809), Perceval (1809-1812), and Lord Liverpool (1812-1827), which brought the war to a successful conclusion.

NAPOLÉON'S CONTINENTAL POLICY

Napoleon now undertook the re-organisation of Europe. In 1805 he had declared himself King of Italy. He established his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, as King of Naples, and another brother, Louis, as King of Holland. The Holy Roman Empire was abolished. The Emperor, Francis II., abandoned his shadowy overlordship of Germany, and took the title of Emperor of Austria (1806). Napoleon then united the states of western Germany in the Confederation of the Rhine.

Napoleon's German policy enraged Prussia, who ended ten years of neutrality by a declaration of war, only to be crushed immediately at Jena and Auerstadt (1806). Prussia appealed to Russia for help, but, after an indecisive engagement at Eylau, Napoleon defeated the Russians at Friedland (1807). The Tsar, Alexander I., then changed his policy. At a personal meeting between the two emperors which took place on a raft in the Niemen, he fell completely under Napoleon's influence. Peace terms were arranged in the Treaty of Tilsit. Russia and France made an alliance against England. Prussia was deprived of much of her territory, a part of which was made into the kingdom of Westphalia, with Jerome Bonaparte for its king.

Since the failure of his naval policy had made an invasion of England impossible, Napoleon determined to cripple British export trade. This policy was embodied in the Berlin Decree (1806), and the Milan Decrees (1807). European countries were forbidden to trade with Great Britain, and confiscation of neutral ships and goods was ordered if they had touched at a British port. Britain replied by Orders in Council (1807), which declared a blockade of the ports of France and her allies, and ordered no ship to enter them without previously touching at a British port. The results of this economic struggle were far-reaching. Britain's control of the sea enabled her to check



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NAPOLEON I AND HIS GENERALS AT THE BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ Edouard Detaille

trans-Atlantic commerce with France. This angered the United States of America. British commerce suffered, but she still controlled her colonial markets. France herself did not suffer badly from the exclusion of colonial produce, but neutral countries resented the lack of tea, coffee, sugar, and cotton.

THE ATTACK ON SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

With the Treaty of Tilsit, Napoleon reached the height of his power. He was supreme in western Europe. Austria and Prussia were crushed, and he had begun his economic campaign, the "Continental System," against English trade. By secret articles at Tilsit, Russia had agreed with Napoleon to force Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, into war with England, so that their ports could be closed to her goods, and their navies used against her. Canning, who was Foreign Secretary in the Portland ministry (1807-1809) discovered this plan. He therefore sent a British fleet to Denmark, and bombarded Copenhagen, forcing the Danes to surrender their fleet to England (1807). The Portuguese fleet escaped by sailing to Brazil.

Napoleon felt that he could not afford to let Portugal remain friendly with England. English trade with Portugal and Brazil, and the entry of English goods through Portugal into Europe threatened the success of his Continental system. So Marshal Junot was sent to conquer Portugal. The Bourbon rulers of Spain, who had consistently remained the obedient friends and allies of France, made no objection to the occupation of their country by French troops. Unwisely, Napoleon could not resist the opportunity to add Spain to his dominions. In 1808, he forced the Spanish Bourbons to abdicate, and made his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, king in their place.

So far, Napoleon had dealt only with governments and mercenary armies. The Spanish people deeply resented this annexation of their country. They began a resistance to France that was the more difficult to suppress because it was irregular, loosely organised, and spread throughout the country. The central government had fallen, but the Spaniards set up local "Juntas," and later (1810) established a Parliament and a liberal constitution. But the first result of their rising was the defeat of the French at Baylen (1808), which astounded Europe, by now convinced of French invincibility.

The English Foreign Secretary, Canning, was quick to seize the opportunity provided by Spanish resistance. A small force under Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, landed in Portugal and defeated Junot at Vimeiro (1808). Unfortunately Wellesley's progress was checked by the arrival of superior officers, who concluded the "Convention of Cintra," by which Junot was allowed to withdraw from Portugal. For this feeble policy the British commanders were withdrawn in disgrace, and the defence of Portugal was left to Sir John Moore.

So dangerous was the situation in Spain that Napoleon himself now took command there, and occupied Madrid. Moore left Portugal and marched into Spain, threatening French communications. With Napoleon on the track of his army he was obliged to fight his way back to the coast, but defeated Soult at Corunna (1809). In this battle, Moore was killed, but the British army was enabled to withdraw by sea. Meanwhile, affairs in central Europe forced Napoleon to leave the Spanish struggle to his marshals.

NAPOLEON AND AUSTRIA

Under the able control of the Archduke Charles, the Austrians, whom Napoleon had believed to be thoroughly crushed, were re-organising their army and making ready for war. Napoleon declared war upon them, and won a victory at Aspern after very hard fighting. He now realised that he was underestimating Austria's resistance, and he devoted all the resources of his strategy to the defeat of Austria, which he achieved at Wagram (1809). Austria made peace, and Napoleon, impressed by the strength of her resistance, sought an Austrian alliance. In 1810 he divorced his wife, Josephine, and married Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian emperor.

During the struggle of 1809 between Austria and Napoleon, the English sent an expedition to the island of Walcheren in the Netherlands, and this was a complete failure. But the way was paved for future success by once more sending Wellesley to the Peninsula.

THE PENINSULA WAR AND THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

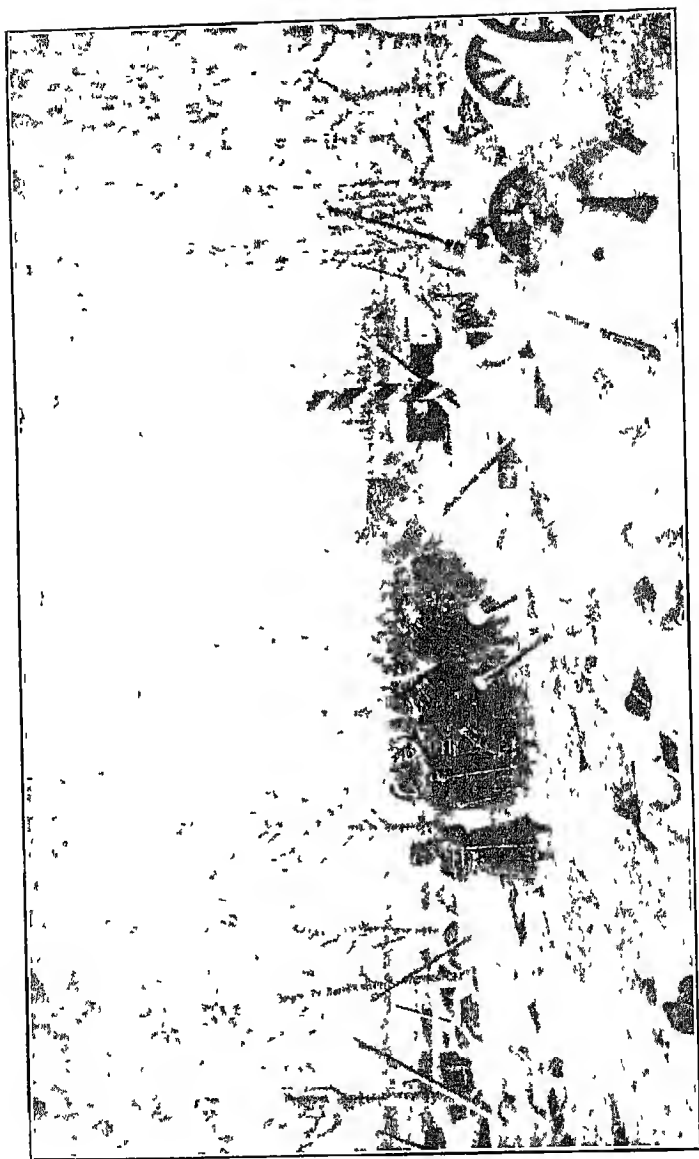
Wellesley captured Oporto and drove the French under Soult, out of Portugal. He then advanced into Spain, and defeated a French army under Victor at Talavera (1809). But Soult was

threatening British communications, and Wellesley had to return to Portugal. His success at Talavera was rewarded by the title of Lord Wellington.

Wellington saw that the important thing was to keep alive the war in the Peninsula, which was a continual drain upon French resources. He therefore remained obstinately on the defensive, refusing to risk a decisive defeat. Napoleon was equally aware of the necessity for ending the war, and in 1810 sent Massena to drive Wellington out of Portugal. Wellington checked Massena's advance at Busaco (1810). He then retreated behind the lines of Torres Vedras, which he had constructed across a peninsula of land between the Tagus and the sea. In this position he could receive supplies from England by sea, while the French starved in barren country. The French could do nothing but retreat, and were compelled to evacuate Portugal.

Wellington's next operations were designed to capture the fortresses that commanded the roads into Spain. These were Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo in the north, and Badajoz in the south. In 1811 Almeida was taken, but attempts to take Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz failed, though the French were defeated at Albuera, near Badajoz. In 1812 Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz were captured. Wellington then advanced into Spain, defeated the French at Salamanca and occupied Madrid. The concentration of forces necessary to re-take Madrid forced the French to evacuate southern Spain. Meanwhile Napoleon was meeting disaster in Europe.

Irritated by the Continental system and by Napoleon's Polish and German policy, Alexander I was relaxing the ban on British trade. The Continental system was essential to Napoleon's policy of crushing Britain, so he resolved to compel Russia's adherence. The Tsar made an alliance with England, war was declared and Napoleon invaded Russia with an immense army (1812). He defeated the Russians at Borodino, though with very heavy losses, and occupied Moscow. But Russia showed no sign of capitulating, and Napoleon knew that to winter in Moscow was to risk an outbreak of war in central Europe in his rear. His return, through the Russian winter and a country already exhausted of supplies during the advance of his troops, was a tragedy that involved the destruction of most of his army by disease, cold, and starvation.



NAPOLÉON RETREAT FROM MOSCOW

THE DEFEAT OF NAPOLEON

The Russian disaster was followed by the revolt of Europe against Napoleon. After her defeat of 1806, Prussia had reorganised her army and government. She now united with Britain and Russia in the Fourth Coalition (1813-4), which was later joined by Austria. Napoleon defeated the Russians and Prussians at Lutzen and Dresden. But they were not seriously checked, and defeated him in a three days' battle at Leipzig, forcing him to withdraw to the Rhine.

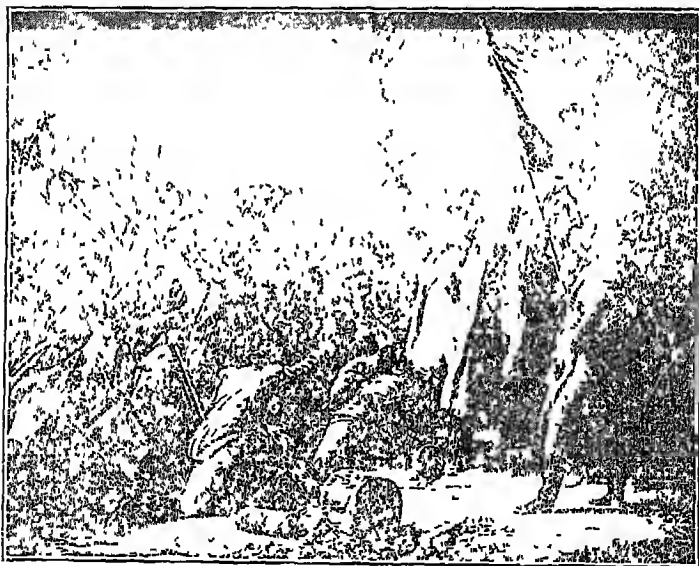
The campaigns in central Europe and in the Peninsula reacted upon each other, by dividing the French forces. Napoleon had to withdraw some of his troops, under Soult, from Spain. Wellington, by brilliant strategy, forced the others to retreat towards the Pyrenees and defeated them decisively at Vittoria (1813). He then invaded France and defeated Soult at Toulouse (1814). Meanwhile, Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig had been followed by an able defence of France against the Allied advance upon Paris. The Prussians were defeated twice, and an Allied army once refused to give battle to the French. France was roused by the presence of Allied troops, and the coalition against her seemed in danger of breaking up. But Paris capitulated, and Napoleon's army showed itself weary of the struggle. The Emperor, realising the futility of further resistance, abdicated, and was sent to Elba (1814).

Napoleon's Continental system had caused war to break out between Britain and the United States (1812), as a result of the British claim to search neutral shipping for contraband. The war did a good deal of damage to shipping, but was not otherwise important, and was brought to a close by the Treaty of Ghent (1814).

THE HUNDRED DAYS WATERLOO

Largely through the influence of the British foreign minister, Castlereagh, France had been treated with moderation. Her boundaries of 1792 were restored, and the Bourbons, in the person of Louis XVIII, were replaced on the throne. The Allies met at Vienna (1814) to settle European affairs, but their deliberations were interrupted (1815) by the return of Napoleon from Elba and the brief restoration of the Empire known as the "Hundred Days."

Napoleon was sufficiently welcome in France to be restored without violence, and to raise an army without difficulty. Wellington had an army in western Belgium, and Blücher, with the Prussians, occupied eastern Belgium. Napoleon's plan was to prevent these two forces from meeting at Charleroi, and to destroy them in turn. So Marshal Ney held back the British at Quatre Bras, while Blücher was defeated at Ligny. But the Prussians retreated without being crushed, and Wellington also



THE RETURN FROM ELBA, BY STEUBEN

fell back, taking up his position at Waterloo (1815), where, depending on Blücher's promise of support he gave battle to the French. For five hours the battle was indecisive, the French charges failing to break the British lines. Even after the arrival of the Prussians the struggle was a long and difficult one, but it ended in a decisive defeat for the French. Napoleon fled to Paris, and then to Rochefort, where he surrendered to the commander of the British warship, "Bellerophon." He was sent to St Helena, where he died in 1821.

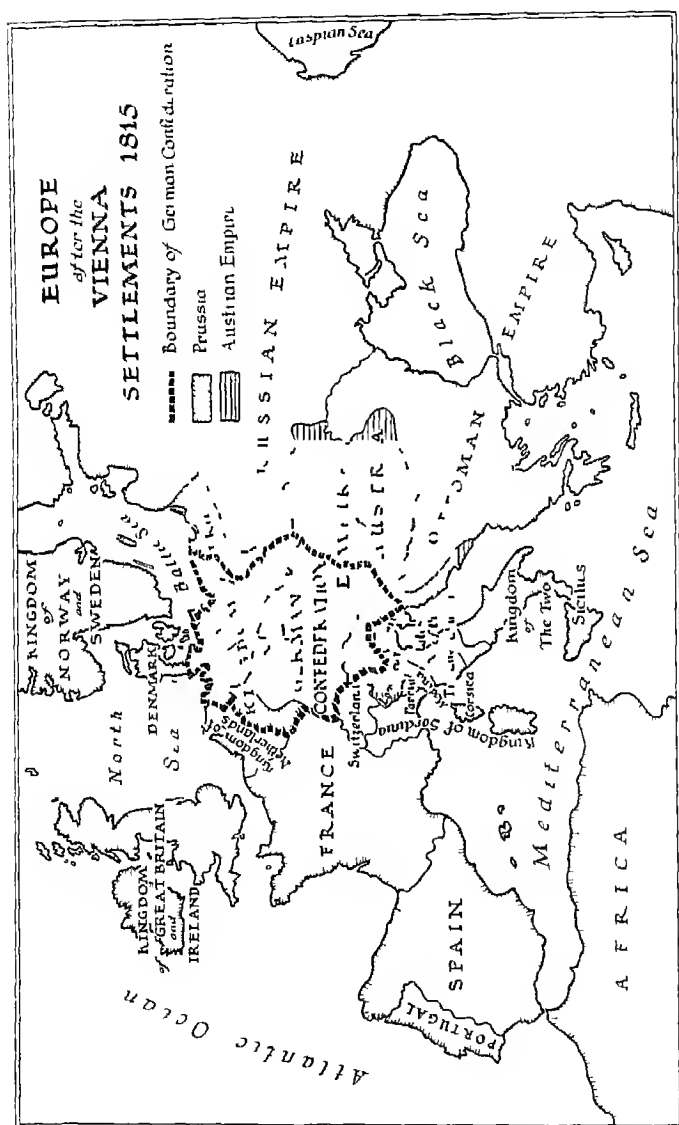
THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The Allies had now to make a new peace with France and to complete the Vienna settlement of Europe. The powers who dominated the Congress of Vienna were Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Britain. Prussia desired that France should be dismembered and crushed, but the British envoys, Castlereagh and Wellington, stood out determinedly for a policy of moderation. After the Peninsula war and the Waterloo campaign Wellington's personal prestige was immense, and his moderate policy had the approval of the Tsar, Alexander I. But the peace terms for France were harder than those made before the Hundred Days. There was a further reduction of French boundaries, an indemnity was exacted, and an army of occupation remained in France for three years. Britain returned French colonies, except Mauritius, Tobago, and St. Lucia. Britain also retained the Cape of Good Hope (taken from the Dutch), Malta, and Heligoland.

The settlement of Europe was a complicated task, for Napoleon had re-grouped states, re-organised constitutions, and driven many ruling families into exile. The long struggle had given rise to sentiments of nationalism that were to be a dominant force in European politics in the nineteenth century. The French Revolution had shaken reverence for tradition and for existing institutions, and had roused aspirations after liberty and constitutional government. The Vienna settlement ignored these sentiments, and tried, as far as possible, to restore expelled rulers and to return to the old order of things.

Holland became a kingdom, and Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands) was united with it. In the same way, Norway was united to Sweden. No attempt was made to unite Germany or Italy into national states: they remained divided, and in Italy the Austrian power was restored by the grant to Austria of Lombardy and Venetia. As the ruler of northern Italy, Austria established her influence over the other Italian states.

In Germany it was impossible to restore the mass of tiny states re-organised by Napoleon, or to restore the Holy Roman Empire. Therefore Germany was loosely united into a Germanic Confederation of thirty-nine states. This meant that the German states were still independent, and that the way was paved for the struggle of Austria and Prussia to dominate



Germany Prussia received large additions of territory in western Germany, but gave up most of her Polish possessions. The greater part of Poland fell under Russian rule.

Like most European settlements, that of Vienna became a basis for new quarrels and changes. It made Russia, Prussia, and Austria the most powerful states in Europe, and in central Europe it restored despotic and reactionary government. But it was followed by a long period during which no great European war occurred, and when a genuine attempt was made to rule Europe by Conferences and by international agreement.

CHAPTER XLI

IRELAND AND THE UNION

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

The situation in Ireland in the eighteenth century was the product of a long period of misgovernment and of hostility between England and the Celtic people of Ireland. English rule in Ireland was as despotic as that of any of the central European states over their dependencies. The Irish people had been deprived of political power, of religious freedom, and of economic prosperity. Irish grievances have frequently been exaggerated, and some of them were shared by people in England, but there is no doubt that English policy in Ireland had always been one of suppression rather than of conciliation, and that Irish prosperity had been deliberately sacrificed to English interests.

Irish grievances were political, religious, and economic. The government of the country was completely under English control. Like England Ireland had a Parliament of two Houses, Lords and Commons. But this Parliament had no control over the officials who carried on the work of governing the country. These, like the Viceroy, were appointed by England, and all the most important official posts were held by Englishmen. Nominally, the Irish Parliament made law for the country, but in reality England decided the character of legislation. The Irish Parliament had lost its independence in the fifteenth century, when Henry VII's minister, Sir Edward Poynings, had brought it under the control of the English Privy Council by "Poynings' Laws" (1495). It was then enacted that the Irish Parliament could be summoned only by English consent, and that no measures were to be discussed by it which had not previously been approved by the English Privy Council.

This meant that England could choose the laws that the Irish Parliament was to pass. Parliamentary corruption was used to ensure that it should not reject them. Like its English counterpart, the Irish Parliament was controlled by bribery and grants of offices and pensions that enabled the government to buy a majority that would support its policy. Moreover, in

spite of this control of Irish legislation, England claimed the right to make law for Ireland in the English Parliament. This practice, which had existed in the seventeenth century was given expression in the Declaratory Act (1719)

The Irish, like the English Parliament, represented only a small part of the nation. Though county members were chosen by a fairly wide franchise, the election of the borough representatives, who greatly outnumbered them, was controlled either by a small clique of people, or by a single "borough-owner." In Ireland, too, religious disabilities played a much greater part than in England, for most of the Irish population was Catholic, and Irish Catholics were denied the right either to vote or to sit in Parliament.

THE POSITION OF THE CATHOLICS

The position of the Catholics was one of the principal Irish grievances. English Catholics had endured many disabilities because of their religion, but in England Catholics were a minority. The Irish Catholics had to endure still greater disabilities, though they formed the majority of the population of Ireland. At the time of the English Revolution (1688), the Irish Catholics had supported James II, and had stubbornly resisted the armies of William III. When this struggle ended in the surrender of Limerick, they had extorted from their conquerors, in the Treaty of Limerick (1691), a promise that they should receive the same treatment as they had had under the friendly government of Charles II. But the promises made at Limerick were not kept, and during the reigns of William III and Anne a series of harsh Penal Laws against Irish Catholics were passed.

These laws excluded Catholics from voting, from sitting in Parliament, from holding political offices, and from sharing in local government. They were cut off from a professional career, for they could not enter the army or navy, or become barristers. Their education was interfered with, for they were forbidden to teach, and were not allowed to enter the universities. They lost their more important property rights, for they could not own land. Their marriage to Protestants was forbidden. This code was inspired by the anti-Catholic bigotry of the Revolution period. In the more tolerant eighteenth century, the most unreasonable Acts were seldom put into execution, but Catholics had still no share in the government of the country.

ECONOMIC GRIEVANCES

But the worst grievances of Ireland were economic. Most of the land had passed out of the hands of the native Irish into those of settlers imported by the English government. This policy of dispossessing the Irish of their land and "planting" it with settlers had begun in Tudor times. Extensive "plantations" had been carried out by the Stuarts and by Cromwell, and had not only left a legacy of hostile and bitter feeling, but had resulted in the ownership of a great deal of Irish land by absentee landlords. Most of them lived in England and seldom visited the estates from which they drew their rents. This led to oppression of the Irish peasant farmers, for the absent landlords either left the administration of their estates to bailiffs, or leased them to "middlemen." As these middlemen only held an estate for a limited period, it was their object to make as much money as possible out of it, so they made no improvements and exacted unduly high rents.

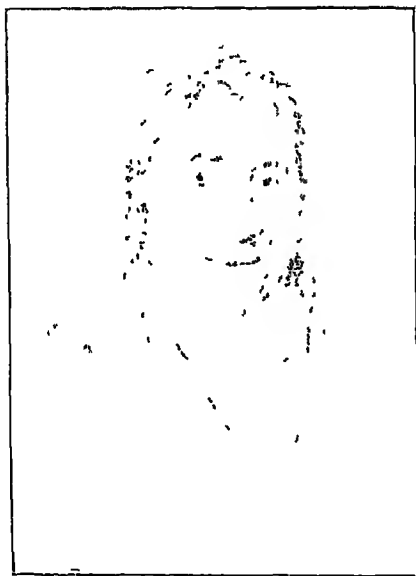
Farming was poor in most parts of Ireland, for the country as a whole is better fitted for pasturing sheep and cattle than for arable farming. The Irish cattle trade had been stopped in the reign of Charles II. in the interests of English farmers. Irish wool could be exported only to England, and was then subject to a heavy duty. The Irish woollen manufacture had also been crushed by restrictions and duties, lest it should compete with English industries. In the second half of the eighteenth century England encouraged the manufacture of linen in Ireland, but this industry was not enough to lift the country out of its poverty.

AGITATION FOR INDEPENDENCE

During the first half of the eighteenth century the Irish made no attempt to secure political independence or the removal of their religious disabilities. Repressive policy under William III. and Anne seemed to have crushed all resistance, and the country was quiet. The Irish emigrated in large numbers, either to America, or to take service in the armies of the European powers. When, in the middle of the century, a movement for independence began, it originated with the Protestants, who worked by constitutional means through the Irish Parliament. It was begun by Henry Flood, who entered Parliament in 1789, and became an opponent of the English government and a critic of its methods.

Outside Parliament the demand for independence was spread by the "Freeman's Journal," edited by Charles Lucas.

This movement for Irish independence soon secured a brilliant leader, Henry Grattan, an Irish Protestant gentleman, who had studied law in England, and who was one of the finest orators of his day. Grattan entered the Irish Parliament in 1775, and his oratory and enthusiasm soon gave him control over that body, while, outside it, he had the support both of Protestants and Catholics. Grattan's demands were statesman-



HENRY GRATTAN

like and moderate. He desired that the Irish Parliament should be made independent of English control, and that Irish Catholics should be represented in it. He also demanded that Ireland should be placed on terms of commercial equality with Great Britain. Grattan was not hostile towards England, and was convinced that a settlement would be to the advantage of both countries. He felt that their interests were alike and that Ireland ought to support England in time of war.

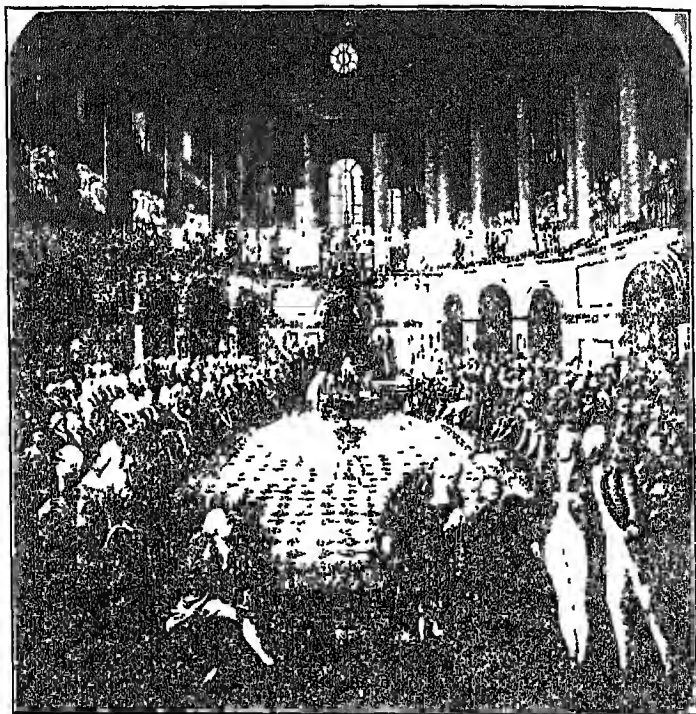
THE VOLUNTEERS AND "GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT"

While Grattan was trying to secure political independence and commercial equality for Ireland, Great Britain was engaged in fighting the War of American Independence (1775-1783). The entry of France and Spain to the war (1778-9) had, for the moment, destroyed English naval supremacy, and the Irish sea was being swept by American privateers, under the command of the famous Paul Jones. There was also the possibility of a French landing in Ireland. Without help from the Government, the Irish took measures for their own defence by organising a volunteer force under the command of Lord Charlemont. Money and men were enthusiastically supplied, and, in spite of the apparent loyalty of the volunteers, Lord North's government could not but be influenced by the existence in Ireland of an organised body of sixty thousand armed men, who were supporters of Grattan's cause. In 1780 North granted Ireland commercial equality with England. This did not satisfy the Volunteers, who continued to demand the independence of the Irish Parliament. In 1782 this too was granted by the Shelburne Ministry, which repealed "Poyning's Laws" and the Declaratory Act, thus removing the need for approval of Irish measures by the English Council, and abandoning the English right to pass laws for Ireland.

The independent Parliament of 1782, known as "Grattan's Parliament," marked the success of Grattan's efforts. But far less had been achieved than at first appeared. Commercial equality with England was not sufficient to restore Irish prosperity, and free trade between the two countries had not been established. Nor had the Irish obtained either political independence or a representative Parliament. Grattan had united Catholics and Protestants in support of his demands, but "Grattan's Parliament" was a purely Protestant institution. Irish Catholics had obtained neither votes, nor the right to sit in Parliament. Nor had Parliament any control of the officials who governed the country. These were still chosen by England, and could still influence the Irish Parliament by corrupt methods. In reality, Ireland still remained under English government, while the greater part of the Irish population, the Catholics, had as yet no political rights.

IRISH DEMANDS AND THE FITZWILLIAM EPISODE -

The Irish did not long remain content with the concessions secured by Grattan in 1782. In 1789 the French Revolution began, and spread its doctrines of liberty, equality, and political freedom over western Europe. In 1791 Wolfe Tone founded



THE LAST GREAT PARLIAMENT OF IRELAND ELECTED 1790

the "Society of United Irishmen," which demanded Catholic emancipation and political freedom for Ireland. The Society included both Catholics and Protestants. It was much more extreme in its demands and doctrines than Grattan, who had no sympathy with democratic ideals, but it sought at first to obtain its ends by orderly and constitutional means. Pitt, who in earlier days, had been liberal in his opinions, and had favoured Parliamentary

reform and Catholic emancipation, saw the wisdom of making concessions to Ireland, but he proceeded slowly and cautiously. In 1792 marriages between Catholics and Protestants were legalised, and in 1793 votes were given to Irish Catholics. But these measures did not go far enough, for Catholics were still excluded from Parliament.

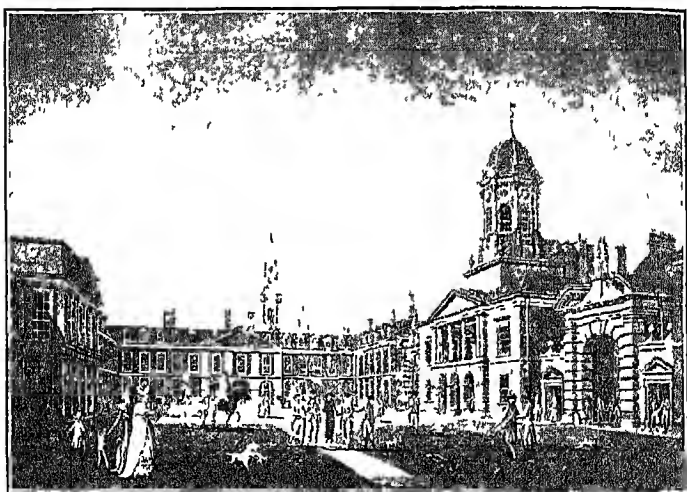
In dealing with Ireland Pitt had a hard task. George III and the extreme Tories were strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation, and the King still retained a good deal of influence upon English politics. Pitt himself was less eager to secure reforms than he had been in his youth. Moreover, the French Revolution, while it influenced the Irish to demand freedom, had led Pitt and the English Tories to mistrust all demands for reform. On the other hand, the outbreak of war with France, and the possibility of a French landing in Ireland made it wiser to conciliate the Irish. Pitt, torn between the arguments for reaction and reform, adopted no definite policy with regard to Ireland, but gave the Irish reason to hope that his attitude was favourable to their demands by appointing Lord Fitzwilliam as Viceroy (1795).

Lord Fitzwilliam was a Whig who had joined Pitt's party after the outbreak of the French Revolution. He was known to be liberal in his views, and to favour Catholic emancipation. His appointment roused Irish expectations, and, as Viceroy, Fitzwilliam at once began to carry out reforms. Unwisely, he promised to bring before the Irish Parliament a measure for the emancipation of Catholics, although he had not been instructed to do so by the English Government. He also proceeded to reform Irish administration, and this roused the official class against him. But Fitzwilliam's policy was that desired by the majority of Irish people. If it had been carried out, it would have completed the work of Grattan, and might have enabled Ireland to settle down in peace. Unfortunately, Pitt suffered himself to be influenced by the hostility of Irish office-holders and extreme Protestants, and of some of the English Tories. He recalled Fitzwilliam, abandoning his programme.

FRANCE AND INSURRECTION IN IRELAND

The Fitzwilliam episode had disastrous effects. The Irish Catholics had had their hopes raised and then shattered. They began to feel that they would never get their grievances redressed.

by constitutional means, and must resort to force. As they became more violent, the Protestants, who had less cause for complaint, ceased to support them. The religious feud between Catholic and Protestant, that had disappeared during their common struggle for Irish liberty, was revived once more. The Society of United Irishmen became a revolutionary organisation and, deserted by the Protestants, became almost completely Catholic. It appealed to France for aid, and, in 1796, a fleet under General Hoche was sent to Ireland, but was scattered by a storm in Bantry Bay.



GREAT COURT YARD, DUBLIN CASTLE, 1793

Rischgitz

The appearance of the French turned the Protestants completely against the Catholics, and made them into firm supporters of the British Government. The Orange League was formed by Irish Protestants, and, in Ulster, Catholics and Protestants quarrelled continually, and violence and atrocities occurred on both sides. In 1797, the British Government tried to restore order by disarming Ulster. Since Protestant troops had to be employed, the carrying out of this measure became a persecution of Catholics. It was marked by torture, house-burning, and all kinds of cruelty, which served to inflame Catholic Ireland further.

Ireland now seethed with violence, intrigue and strife. The officials of the administration deliberately fostered hostility between Catholics and Protestants. The Catholics felt that they had nothing to hope from England, and wanted revenge for their sufferings in Ulster. Plans for an insurrection of the United Irishmen were discovered, and a revolt, the "Ninety-Eight," broke out in Southern Ireland. The Catholic peasants of Wexford marched upon Dublin, but were crushed at Vinegar Hill (1798). Some French troops were landed, but were too few to effect anything. Irish resistance was crushed, and the Ulster Protestants became more bitterly than ever opposed to their Catholic neighbours.

England was engaged in her long struggle with Revolutionary France, and Ireland, though crushed, was still dangerous as the possible scene of a French invasion. Pitt decided that some settlement of Irish affairs must be made, but to grant Ireland the independence she desired did not seem to him practicable. Tory policy in England was one of reaction, and Pitt and his party had come to be hostile to any demand for reform. The policy of the moment was to crush resistance, so Pitt now dealt with the Irish problem by taking away Irish independence altogether.

THE PARLIAMENTARY UNION

Pitt determined to bring about a Parliamentary Union between England and Ireland, and to abolish the Irish Parliament. But, to secure any sort of Irish assent to such a measure, a great deal of political management was necessary. Pitt put the task into the hands of Lord Castlereagh, a young statesman who afterwards distinguished himself as Foreign Secretary at the Congress of Vienna (1814).

Castlereagh had to deal with opposition from the Irish Parliament, and from the Irish Catholics. In the Irish Parliament Grattan once more upheld the cause of Irish independence, but the patriotic spirit of Grattan was not the main obstacle. Many influential people wanted the Parliament kept alive because, as "borough-owners," or in some other capacity, they obtained profit or power from it. The English government did not wish to antagonise these people, for the influential Irish Protestants were its principal supporters in the country. So the

Act of Union was passed through the Irish Parliament by the process of purchasing support for it by bribes and by grants of offices and peerages. In the same way Irish borough-owners received compensation for the loss of their profitable control of elections.

The Act of Union (1800) abolished the Irish Parliament, and enacted that Ireland should be represented in the British Parliament by twenty-eight peers and one hundred commons. Free trade was established between the countries. The Irish Catholics accepted the measure on the understanding that representation in Parliament was to be granted to them by a measure of Catholic emancipation. But George III flatly refused to assent to this, and he had the support of some of the Tories. By an alliance with Fox and the Whigs, Pitt could have forced the measure upon the King, but his dislike of Fox prevailed, and he resigned instead. This meant that the Irish Catholics felt themselves cheated, and that the chance of a satisfactory settlement of the Irish question was gone. When Pitt returned to office (1804), he did not raise the question of Catholic emancipation again, so the Union was quickly followed by new agitations over Irish affairs.

CHAPTER XLII

NATIONALISM AND LIBERALISM IN EUROPE

THE HOLY ALLIANCE AND THE CONGRESS SYSTEM

After the long struggle with Napoleon, the great powers of Europe, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, wanted to keep the peace and to maintain the Vienna settlement. For these objects they were prepared to act together, so they formed the "Quadruple Alliance" (1815). This alliance bound them for the next twenty years to prevent, by force if necessary, any alteration in the European boundaries fixed at Vienna. They also agreed that their representatives should meet periodically to discuss European affairs. This agreement was important. It resulted in international Congresses at which European problems and quarrels could be discussed. Largely owing to the attitude of Great Britain, this Congress system broke down, but it was an interesting experiment in European government. It was not replaced by anything similar until recent years.

The Tsar, Alexander I, did not feel that the Quadruple Alliance and the Congress system satisfied his ideals. Alexander was a sincere Christian of a rather mystical type, and had been shocked by the slaughter of the Napoleonic wars. He argued that public, like private, affairs should be governed by Christian principles, and he formed the "Holy Alliance" of monarchs pledged to peace, justice, and brotherly love. But, in spite of Alexander's sincerity, the Holy Alliance never played an important part in European affairs. Diplomats either laughed at it, like the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, or dismissed it as visionary, like the English foreign secretary, Castlereagh. European liberals placed no faith in the sincerity of the Tsar's motives, and regarded it as a device for upholding despotism and crushing liberty. In international affairs it was overshadowed by the "Quadruple Alliance."

For some years after the formation of the Quadruple Alliance, the great powers controlled international affairs by holding

Congresses at which their representatives discussed European politics and decided European questions. At first the system worked smoothly, and at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818) France was invited to join the concert of Europe. It seemed that old rivalries were at an end, and that machinery had been devised for settling European disputes by discussion instead of by war. But the arrangement had, according to modern ideas, certain defects, although its work was in many ways beneficial. It was a government of Europe by the great powers—Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The smaller powers had no voice in it. Moreover, the despotic rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria considered that it was part of the duty of the Alliance to crush movements for national freedom, or for constitutional government in the European states.

CASTLEREAGH AND NON-INTERVENTION

England would not co-operate in this policy of interference in the affairs of other nations. Castlereagh, the English foreign minister, was an able statesman, though he was no visionary idealist. He had been responsible, during Pitt's first ministry, for the passage of the Act of Union (1800) through the Irish Parliament. Later, as Foreign Secretary, he had played an important part in the Congress of Vienna (1814), where he secured wise and moderate terms for France. In England he was hated for his share in the repressive policy of the Tory government, but his prestige among European diplomats was high.

Castlereagh, Alexander I, and the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich were the most important figures at the European Congresses. Castlereagh had no respect for the Tsar's ideal of international unity and co-operation. He regarded the concert of Europe as a useful device for settling European business, but his policy was guided entirely by English interests, and he had no intention of upholding the international system at the expense of Britain. He firmly limited British obligations to those directly undertaken by the Quadruple Alliance—to prevent alteration of European boundaries, or a Bonapartist restoration in France.

Therefore, when revolutionary attempts to establish constitutional government were made in Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Naples, Castlereagh declared England's policy

to be one of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other nations. He himself had no sympathy with liberal ideas, but he argued that England, having altered her own government by the "Glorious Revolution" (1688), could not logically try to



PRINCE DE METTERNICH (1773-1859)

Gouch

prevent other countries from doing the same thing. When, at the Congress of Troppau (1820), the powers decided to crush the revolutions in Piedmont and Naples, Castlereagh would not co-operate.

CANNING

Castlereagh had weakened the Congress system by showing that England would have nothing to do with it as a means of international government. But in 1822 Castlereagh committed suicide, and his successor as Foreign Secretary, George Canning, objected to the whole system of holding periodic meetings of the great powers, at which smaller powers were not represented. He said that it must inevitably lead to interference in the domestic affairs of states and that England could not support such interference. This hostile attitude of Canning's broke up the Congress system altogether.

Canning's hostility to the Congress system startled the European powers, which had been used to the more cautious diplomacy of Castlereagh. But it was natural to Canning to act decisively. He had always been a politician of a brilliant and adventurous type, and had, during the Napoleonic war, been responsible for the policy of attacking the French in the Peninsula and for the bombardment of Copenhagen. A quarrel with Castlereagh had caused him to resign, and he had spent years out of office. Now, during the last few years of his life, he was in control of English foreign policy, and completed Castlereagh's task of laying down the principles which were to guide it during the nineteenth century.

SPANISH AFFAIRS AND THE END OF THE CONGRESS SYSTEM

The situation in Spain and in Spanish America led Canning to declare his policy. During the Napoleonic war the Spanish colonies in South America had begun their struggle for independence. Moreover, the Spaniards themselves, during their resistance to Napoleon, had drawn up a democratic institution, the "Constitution of 1812," which formed the basis of their later demands for constitutional government. When, after the defeat of Napoleon, the Bourbon kings of Spain were restored, they abolished the Spanish constitution and governed despotically. They also attempted to bring the Spanish colonies in South America under their authority once more.

When a democratic revolution broke out in Spain the European powers desired to suppress it, and, at the Congress of Verona (1822) discussed the measures that they should take

But Canning was less interested in the European situation than in British trading interests in South America. British merchants had received concessions from the governments of the revolted Spanish colonies which might be lost, if Spain re-established her authority. Therefore Canning did not wish to see the Spanish government relieved from its European troubles. At the Congress of Verona, the English representative, the Duke of Wellington announced that England would on no account intervene in the Peninsula. He then withdrew from the Congress altogether.

This killed the project for joint intervention by the Allies, but France was authorised to invade Spain to crush the revolution. Canning retaliated by recognising the independence of the South American republics. It was in connection with this episode that he made his famous, though extravagant statement to the Commons: "I resolved that, if France were to have Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

Canning followed his action at Verona by refusing to send an English representative to a Congress summoned to meet at St Petersburg (1824) to discuss the Greek revolt. At this Congress the other powers disagreed, and nothing was done, so the attempt to govern Europe by Congresses was discontinued. Canning defined European policy as "Every nation for itself, and God for us all."

THE EASTERN QUESTION

During the nineteenth century one of the problems that most troubled English statesmen was the "Eastern Question" — that is, the policy to be pursued towards the Turkish empire. The Turkish capital was Constantinople and, in addition to their Asiatic and African dominions, the Turks were the rulers of the Balkan peninsula, where their government of their Christian subjects was cruel and oppressive. The government at Constantinople was weak, and this encouraged the Christian nations of the Balkans to rebel against Turkish rule. Revolts in the Balkans were cruelly repressed, but they aroused sympathy in Europe, and, at the end of the eighteenth century, Russia had declared herself the protector of the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

The sympathy of the Russians with their fellow-Christians in Turkey was genuine. But it was accompanied by a desire to extend Russian influence over the Balkans and to get possession of Constantinople. Great Britain was opposed to such an extension of Russian power. She feared that the Russians might get control of the land route to India, and might interfere in the trade of the eastern Mediterranean. Britain felt that the Turkish empire must be kept in existence as a check on the Russians. Therefore English policy became a complicated business of trying to prevent misgovernment of the Balkan Christians without permitting the Turkish empire to be broken up.

GREEK INDEPENDENCE

Pitt had declared that it should be English policy to keep Turkey intact, and, during the Napoleonic war, Turk and Englishman had fought together against the French in Syria. But when, in 1820, the Greeks rebelled against Turkish rule, the revolt excited a great deal of sympathy in England. English education was still based upon the classics. The difference between the modern Greeks and their ancestors of classical times was forgotten, and brigand chiefs, fighting in the cause of Greek independence, were credited with the virtues of classical heroes. Englishmen went to fight for the Greek cause, the most famous being Lord Byron, the poet, who died at Missolonghi (1824). These sympathisers with the Greeks denounced the lack of enthusiasm for Greek independence shown by the English government.

During the first years of the struggle Canning's main object was to prevent an attack upon Turkey by Russia. He therefore united with Austria in insisting that Turks and Greeks should be left to fight out their quarrel without interference. But when Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, sent his son, Ibrahim, with an Egyptian army, to help his overlord, the Sultan (1825), it was plain that Russia, now under the rule of the aggressive Nicholas I, would interfere to save the Greeks. Canning hoped to make this interference one of diplomatic pressure, not of open war. So he agreed that England and Russia should unite to persuade the Sultan to grant self-government to Greece.

But negotiations failed, for the Turks were now victorious. In 1827, just after Canning's death, a combined English, French,

and Russian fleet, under Admiral Codrington, was sent to overawe them. The Turks fired on the ships, and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were destroyed in the Battle of Navarino. In spite of French and English opposition, Russia then declared war on Turkey. When the Russian forces reached Adrianople, the Turks made peace and promised independence to the Greeks by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829). After three years of negotiations concerning boundaries and terms, Greece became an independent kingdom with Prince Otto of Bavaria for its king.



MEHEMET ALI PASHA, 1769-1849

PALMERSTON AND MEHEMET ALI

The next danger to Turkey came from Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet had received no reward for the help given to Turkey against Greece, and his fleet had been destroyed. So he determined to seize Syria, and sent his son, Ibrahim, to conquer it for him. Ibrahim conquered Palestine and Syria, and decisively defeated the Turks at Konieh in Asia Minor (1832). The Turkish Sultan, Mahmoud, appealed to Russia for help. In the Treaty of Unkier-Skelessi (1833), it was agreed, that, in return for Russian protection, the Sultan should close the Dardanelles to all foreign warships, except

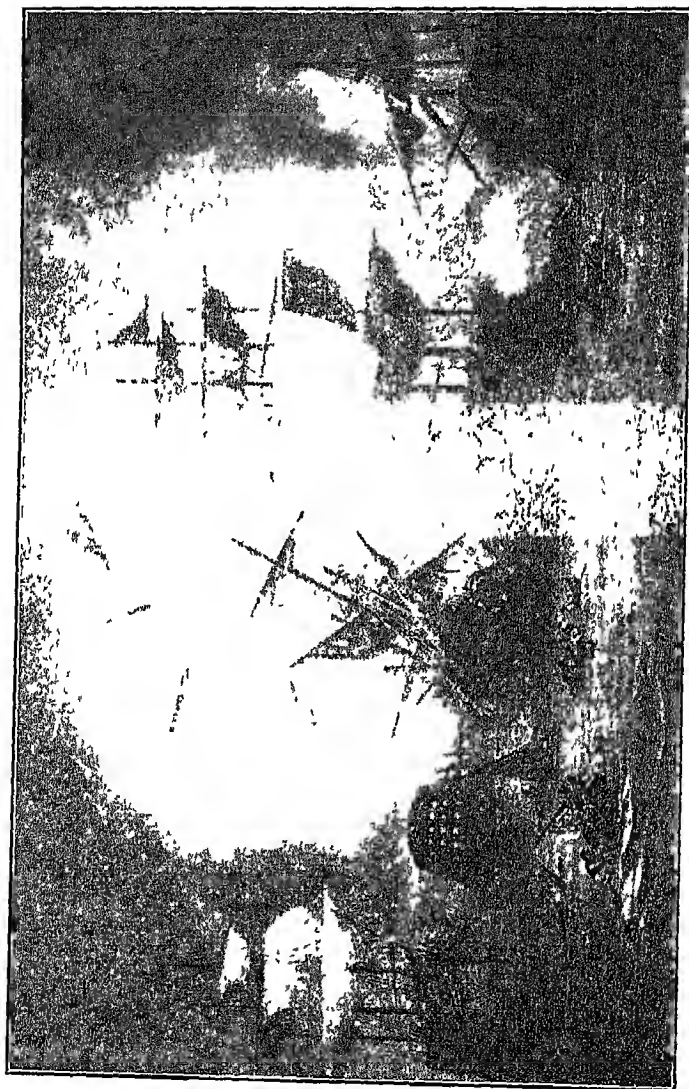
those of Russia. A Russian fleet was sent to save Constantinople, and peace was made by the giant of Syria to Mehemet Ali.

The Treaty of Unkier—Skelessi gave Russia absolute command of the Black Sea, and made Russian influence predominant in Turkey. When, in 1839, the Sultan again quarrelled with Mehemet Ali, and was again defeated, Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, took the opportunity to intervene. He arranged a Convention between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia to deal with Mehemet Ali. France was left out, because she was known to support Egypt, and this caused temporary ill-feeling between France and England. A British squadron was sent to Syria, and Beirut and Acre were taken. Mehemet's son, Ibrahim, saw his communications with Egypt threatened, and evacuated Syria. The British fleet then appeared before Alexandria, and Mehemet Ali capitulated. He was made hereditary Pasha of Egypt, but was forced to abandon hope of other dominions.

Palmerston's energy had saved Turkey from disruption, and he next secured a diplomatic triumph in the "Convention of the Straits" (1841) by which Turkey and the European powers undertook that the Dardanelles should be closed to all foreign warships. This brought Russian influence over Turkey to an end. A few years later (1844), England showed her determination to maintain the Turkish empire by refusing to consider a Russian proposal to divide it on terms that would have given Egypt to England, and Constantinople to Russia.

PALMERSTON'S POLICY OF INTERVENTION

Canning, whose policy had ended the attempt to rule Europe by international Congresses, died just before the Battle of Navarino (1827). During the last stages of the struggle for Greek independence, British foreign policy was guided by the Duke of Wellington (1827-1830), whose principal aim was to avoid war. But in 1830 Lord Palmerston became Foreign Secretary, and he, far from trying to stand aloof from European affairs, was determined that England should play a great part in them. Palmerston saw no reason why he should not interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations, and he modified Canning's policy of opposing such intervention by other powers to one of making England the



BATTLE OF NAVARINO, 1827

arbiter in European disputes. He did not intend that his policy should lead to war, but he was an opportunist, ready to use the threat of war as a bluff to make another nation give way to his wishes. Under his control Britain meddled frequently in Europe, and kept other nations guessing what line he would take. Her prestige stood high, but her course was a dangerous one. Often it was only Palmerston's ability in extracting himself from difficult situations and his capacity for rapid and decisive action that averted war.

THE "JULY REVOLUTION" BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

In 1830 the French drove out the reactionary Charles X, and established a constitutional monarchy under Louis-Philippe, the representative of the Orleans branch of the House of Bourbon. This revolution of 1830, known as the "July Revolution," had an important influence upon European affairs. This was partly because it was a triumph for constitutional government, and partly because, since it was accomplished without bloodshed, it showed Europe that a change of government did not necessarily mean violence and anarchy. Its immediate result was to inspire the Belgians to try to obtain independence for themselves.

The Dutch had become independent in the sixteenth century, but Belgium (the Austrian Netherlands) was one of the European states that had been handed from one ruler to another at the convenience of the great powers. The French had conquered it during the Revolutionary War, but it had been taken from France after the defeat of Napoleon. The Congress of Vienna had decided to unite with Holland, as the kingdom of the United Netherlands, under the rule of the House of Orange.

When the Belgians revolted (1830), expelled the Dutch, and set up a government of their own, the Dutch king appealed to the Quadruple Alliance, which had agreed to uphold the Vienna settlement. Russia, Prussia, and Austria were occupied by a Polish revolution. It was evident that the fate of Belgium would be settled by France and England. The new government of France, that of Louis-Philippe, would have liked to secure popularity at home, either by annexing Belgium, or by bringing it under French influence as an independent state with a French ruler. French troops were therefore sent to expel the Dutch.

England had always opposed French control of the Belgian ports. Palmerston, who knew that Russia, Prussia, and Austria would support him in this, demanded that the French should withdraw. It was decided that Belgium should become an independent kingdom, with Leopold of Saxe-Coburg as its king. France and England then united in expelling the Dutch. Belgian independence was secured, though it was not till 1829 that the treaty establishing its independence and neutrality was signed. This was after a delay caused by the reluctance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria to upset the arrangements made at Vienna.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGES

In Belgium Palmerston had championed national independence and constitutional monarchy, and in Spain and Portugal he again supported the liberal cause. In both countries, during the thirties there was a succession dispute. In Spain the throne was claimed by Queen Isabel and by her uncle, Don Carlos. In Portugal the rival claimants were Queen Maria and her uncle, Dom Miguel. The advisers of the two Queens were supporters of constitutional government against absolutism.

Palmerston saw the chance of forming an alliance of constitutional monarchies, in which he meant England to take the lead, to counterbalance the despotic powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria. He was also influenced by commercial factors: to support the winning party was the first step to a trade concession. He therefore offered help to the Spanish and Portuguese Queens, and a Quadruple Alliance of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal was arranged (1834). The Portuguese pretender was easily driven out, though it was some years before Don Carlos was overcome in Spain. But the weakness of Spain and Portugal made the Quadruple Alliance of little importance in European affairs, and France and England finally became involved in a quarrel about Spain.

Relations between France and England had already been strained by English support of Turkey against Mehemet Ali (1839-41). Palmerston had combined the European powers for the overthrow of the Egyptian pasha without reference to France, who was known to support him. To avoid war, Louis Philippe had been obliged to accept the check to his policy and he now tried to outwit Palmerston over the marriage of the Queen



RECEPTION OF LOUIS PHILIPPE AT WINDSOR CASTLE, OCT 8TH, 1844

of Spain and her sister To guard against the chance of a union of the French and Spanish crowns, it had been agreed that the Queen's sister should not marry a French prince till Queen Isabel was married and had children. Louis Philippe persuaded Isabel to marry her cousin, the Duke of Cadiz, who was unlikely to have children. He also arranged a marriage, which took place at the same time as the Queen's (1846) between Isabel's sister and his own son, the Duke of Montpensier Since Isabel was unlikely to have children, this meant that Louis Philippe's son would probably become King of Spain, and Palmerston's fury at the trick shattered the friendship between England and France Isabel had a son, however, and the scheme of the French king was a failure

THE REVOLUTIONS OF 1848

The failure of his foreign policy and the loss of English support weakened Louis Philippe's position at home France was already discontented with his government, for all political power was in the hands of the wealthy middle class In 1848 another revolution began, and Louis Philippe was forced to take refuge in England France, after a period of disorder, during which a socialist attempt to set up national workshops failed, established the Second Republic with Louis Napoleon, the nephew of Bonaparte, as its President (1848)

At the same time a wave of revolution swept over Europe The people of the Italian states and those of Hungary rebelled against their Austrian rulers The Austrian emperor abdicated, and the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich, fled There were also risings in Germany Palmerston showed sympathy with the Italians, for he did not believe that Austrian control of Italy could last, but he refused to acknowledge the independence of Hungary, which would have broken up the Austrian empire The revolutionary movements achieved little, except in France In Germany they died down, while Austria crushed Italian resistance, and, with Russian help, overcame Hungary

THE DON PACIFICO CASE

Palmerston's high-handed methods roused a good deal of resentment in Europe, though in England he was very popular His policy was that of an autocrat, who intended to set European

affairs in order even if he had to bully the other powers. He became so accustomed to force compliance with English demands that, in the famous case of Don Pacifico (1850) he upheld claims that he had not investigated properly, and for which there was no justification.

Don Pacifico was a Maltese Jew, who demanded from the Greek government exorbitant compensation for damage done to his property by an Athens mob. When he could not obtain satisfaction he appealed to Palmerston, claiming to be a British subject, and Palmerston sent Parker to blockade the Piræus. The Greek government submitted, and paid Don Pacifico his damages, but the whole incident was so unsavoury that Palmerston was attacked in the English Parliament. There, as often in European affairs, he saved himself by his own ingenuity. In a long and eloquent speech he argued that every British citizen, even a Jew with an unjust claim, should be protected by the state, and should be freed from indignity by his claim to British citizenship, just as a Roman was protected when he could say *Civis Romanus sum*.

The result was that Palmerston's popularity as the champion of England increased. But Queen Victoria, annoyed by his independent action, asked to be informed in future of his intentions before he committed the country to any policy. Palmerston gave way at the moment, but in 1851, when Louis Napoleon had been chosen President for life, he congratulated him without consulting anyone. He was thereupon dismissed by the Queen, and his control of English foreign affairs was over for the time being.

CHAPTER XLIII

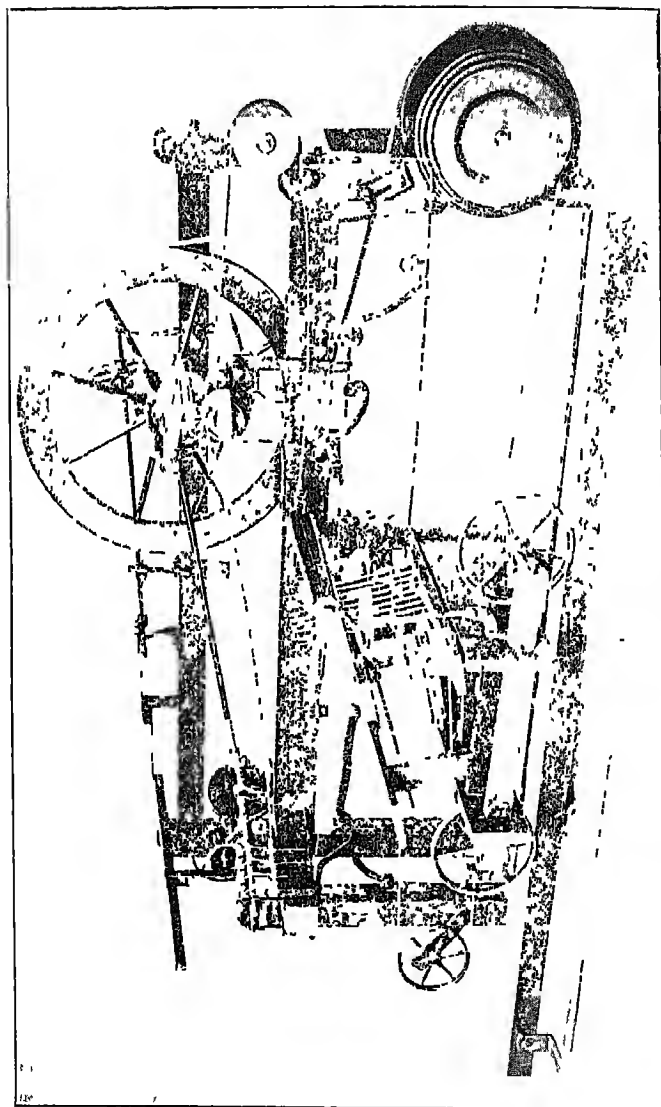
THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL REFORM

ECONOMIC DISTRESS

When the long struggle with Napoleon came to an end, English people, uplifted by their victory, looked forward to a time of peace and prosperity. But, instead of this, peace abroad was accompanied by trouble at home. After a short boom trade grew bad. It was hampered by taxation, and there was a great deal of unemployment, for supplies of war were no longer needed and the European nations were too exhausted and poor to be able to buy great quantities of English goods.

Farming, like industry, passed through a difficult period. A large part of the corn imported into England came from Europe, for America was still only on the way to becoming a great corn-producing region. Since the war had cut off European supplies, England had had to grow most of her own corn, and farmers had brought a great deal more land under the plough. When peace came, much of this new corn land no longer paid for cultivation, and the situation was made worse by a bad harvest in 1816. The government tried to protect the English farmer by the Corn Law of 1815, which forbade the import of foreign corn till the price of English corn rose to 80s. a quarter. This meant terrible hardship to the poor. It kept up the price of food, though wages were so low that, in the case of agricultural labourers, the magistrates were habitually adding to them by a grant of poor relief.

Low wages, high prices, unemployment, and the lack of any regulation of hours or conditions of work, were making life very hard for the poor, many of whom were reduced to starvation. The results were outbreaks of rioting, and the breaking of machinery. The workers blamed machinery for their unemployment, although people were out of work in the woollen trade, in which the use of machinery was just beginning as well as in the cotton trade, in which it was already well-established. In 1817 a march of Manchester cotton workers to London to air their



CROMPTON'S MULE

So called because it combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame

grievances occurred, nicknamed the "March of the Blanketeers," from the blankets carried for bedding. The country appeared to be falling into a state of violence and disorder, very alarming to people who remembered the terrorism of the French Revolution and feared that similar events might take place in England.

REPRESSION AND AGITATION

Unfortunately, the government of Lord Liverpool (1812-1827) misunderstood the true cause of the trouble—the economic misery of the poor—and suspected the lower classes of revolutionary tendencies imported from France. They therefore continued the policy of repression begun by Pitt. In 1817 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a time, so that people could be imprisoned if suspected of conspiracy. The discussion of reform became dangerous. An attempt to stop the publication of writings that the government considered seditious failed only because the juries considered it an attack on the freedom of the press, and refused to convict.

This policy of repression unaccompanied by any attempt to improve working-class conditions might have caused the revolution that it was intended to prevent. But the Radical reformers whom the government was so eager to suppress were teaching the lower classes to seek a remedy for their troubles in the reform of Parliament. William Cobbett, a small farmer, who had once served as a private soldier, and who knew the conditions under which the poor lived, did much to bring about this change by his weekly paper, the "Political Register." This attacked the corrupt system by which the election of members of Parliament was controlled by great landowners and by rich merchants, who could afford to buy seats for themselves and their friends.

Cobbett pointed out that Parliament imposed Corn Laws to please the landowners, and removed checks on trade to please the merchants, because it represented these classes and was dependent on them. He argued that it would do nothing to protect the workers till they had votes. In 1816 he reduced the price of his paper to twopence, which led his opponents to nickname it "Twopenny Trash," and it became widely read. From this time, as Bamford, a contemporary Radical points out, rioting became more rare, and the workers agitated for Parliamentary reform.

The government was one of extreme Tories, who could see no fault in what they described as our "Matchless Constitution," and continued to regard the demand for reform as seditious and revolutionary. Meanwhile the demand spread, and in 1819, after another period of bad trade, large mass meetings in favour of manhood suffrage were held in the industrial areas of the midlands and the north. In August a Radical speaker, Orator Hunt, held a meeting in St Peter's Fields, Manchester, which was attended by about sixty thousand people. Though the meeting was orderly and unarmed, the magistrates ordered the local



RECANTATION OF MR HUNT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Gooch

Yeomanry to arrest the leaders. When the crowd resisted, a charge was made to clear the field, and, since the horses of the yeomanry got out of hand, a large number of people were injured, while about eleven were killed, and a hundred wounded by sabre cuts.

This incident, nicknamed "Peterloo," roused much feeling, more especially since the government congratulated the Manchester magistrates on their action. It was followed by the repressive measures known as the "Six Acts" (1819), which forbade unauthorised military training, allowed the magistrates, during the next two years, to issue warrants for searching private houses for concealed arms, made speedy trials possible, restricted the right to public meetings, forbade the publication of blasphemous or seditious libels, and placed a stamp duty of 4d a copy on newspapers.

THE CATO STREET CONSPIRACY THE ROYAL DIVORCE

In 1820, a plot, the Cato Street Conspiracy, was made to murder all the members of the Liverpool ministry at a dinner in Grosvenor Square. The leader of the conspiracy was Thistlewood, who had deserted from the army. He and his fellow conspirators were betrayed, and five were hanged. The ministry was so unpopular that the plot made little stir. Violence and rioting now died down, however, for the attention of the nation was caught by the attempt of George IV, who came to the throne in 1820, to divorce his Queen, Caroline.

This divorce case showed the extreme unpopularity of the royal family. The sons of George III had led scandalous lives, and George IV, who had acted as Regent during his father's insanity, was especially notorious. Public opinion was that he had no right to attempt to divorce his Queen, even if her private life had been irregular. The attempt at divorce resulted from Caroline's refusal to live abroad, and the Whigs and large sections of the nation championed her cause. There were long debates as the government pushed the bill for the divorce through the House of Lords, and Liverpool wisely dropped it, so it was never sent to the Commons. The main purpose that it served was as a sort of political comedy, that helped to turn the minds of the lower classes from revolution.



CAPTURE OF THE CATO STREET CONSPIRATORS

PEEL'S REFORMS

In 1819 England had seemed to be on the verge of a revolution, but the violence of the agitation for reform died down. Popular attention was caught by the scandals revealed by the attempt of George IV to divorce his queen (1820), and the Tories remained in office till 1830.

But in the twenties the character of the Tory ministry had altered. Lord Liverpool remained at its head till his death (1827), but Liverpool was much influenced by his colleagues. During the earlier years of the ministry, Castlereagh and Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, had favoured repressive measures. The rising statesmen of the Tory party were much more liberal in their views. Liverpool's ministry was gradually invaded by these liberal-minded Tories, who gave it a more progressive character. In 1818 Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade, and in 1821 Peel succeeded Sidmouth as Home Secretary. In 1822, when Castlereagh committed suicide, Canning took charge of foreign affairs.

During the twenties Peel and Huskisson carried out important reforms in their own departments. Robert Peel, the son of a Lancashire cotton manufacturer, who had made a fortune, was destined to become the leader of the Tory landowners as well as of the Tory manufacturers. His father had intended him for a political career, and had bought him a seat in Parliament as soon as he left the University. In a short time he was appointed Secretary for Ireland, and he was only thirty-three when he became Home Secretary.

Peel believed in the removal of abuses rather than in coercion. As Home Secretary he quietly discontinued political persecutions, and the employment of government spies to look for sedition and conspiracy among the working classes. This lessened national hostility to the government, and probably helped to avoid further violent outbursts. But his greatest task was the reform of the criminal code. English criminal law was extraordinarily bloodthirsty. A very large number of crimes, some of which were only small thefts, were punishable by death. As a result thieves were ready to use violence, since the punishment for theft was as severe as that for murder. Also juries often refused to convict criminals of minor offences to save them from a death-sentence. Much crime therefore went unpunished.

Romilly and Mackintosh had agitated for the reform of this brutal and senseless system, but had been defeated by the reluctance of Parliament to alter existing laws. Now Peel undertook the task of sweeping away a great crowd of capital punishments. At the present day, people are sentenced to death only for such serious crimes as treason and murder.

Peel's object was to establish law and order on a reasonable basis. In 1829 he created the Metropolitan Police Force to take the place of the old watchmen, who were powerless to keep order in a great city. In the past, the only means of dealing with a mob had been by summoning military aid, and, as in the Gordon Riots, mobs had been able to terrify London. Peel's force, nicknamed "Peelers," or "Bobbies," provided a means of checking disorder as soon as it began, and of preventing outbreaks of popular violence, such as had occurred earlier in the century. The London police force was imitated by other cities, and during the century borough and county police were established by Act of Parliament.

HUSKISSON AND FREE TRADE. THE COMBINATION LAWS

Meanwhile, as President of the Board of Trade, Huskisson was revising English tariffs. These, as a means of war taxation had again accumulated since their reduction and simplification by Pitt. Like Pitt, Huskisson was a believer in the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith, and he removed many import duties and reduced others. The duties retained were used as a means of giving preference to colonial trade by placing a lower duty on colonial goods than on those from foreign countries.

The Navigation Laws, first passed during the period of Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry in the seventeenth century, and compelling the almost exclusive use of British ships for British trade, were modified. This was because other countries, led by the United States, were beginning a policy of retaliation, by imposing special taxes on goods imported in British vessels. Direct trade between Europe and the colonies was permitted, and a Reciprocity Act was passed to allow the government to negotiate treaties between England and foreign countries for the free use of each other's ports. Huskisson also brought forward a scheme for the revision of the Corn Law, but it was rejected. Wellington's government, later, substituted a "sliding scale"—

that is, a duty that varied with the price of corn—for the fixed duty of 1815

The more liberal spirit of the Tory government in the twenties was seen in the trade union sphere. Francis Place, a Radical tailor of London, who had himself, as a journeyman, experienced the disadvantages of the workers, and Joseph Hume, a private member of Parliament, secured the partial repeal of the Combination Laws passed by Pitt to make trade unions illegal. In 1824 Place and Hume secured the passage of a very liberal bill, but an outbreak of strikes in the next year led to its repeal. In 1825 combinations of masters and workmen for bargaining over wages were permitted, but for no other purpose, and there were very strict provisions against intimidation.

REMOVAL OF RELIGIOUS DISABILITIES

In 1827 Canning had succeeded Liverpool as Prime Minister, but he died after four months in office. From 1828 to 1830 the Prime Minister was the Duke of Wellington. Wellington's ministry was one of rigid Tories, for the followers of Canning, the "Canningites," resigned, splitting the party. This High Tory ministry was destined, by no good will of its own, to remove the religious disabilities the Tory party had so finely upheld.

In Charles II's reign the Test Act and the Corporation Act had been passed, imposing religious tests on all holders of municipal offices, or of offices of state, to ensure that they should be members of the Church of England. Since the Whigs had the support of the Protestant Dissenters, they had, in 1727, begun the practice of passing an annual Indemnity Act, to shield Dissenters who obtained office by evading the tests. In 1828, when Lord John Russell introduced a bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, it obtained so great a majority in the Commons that Wellington and his most important supporter, Peel, did not oppose it. Dissenters thus obtained political equality with Churchmen. But Roman Catholics remained excluded from public offices by a religious test.

A struggle now began between Whigs and Tories over Catholic emancipation—that is, the removal of the political disabilities of Catholics. Opposition to Catholic emancipation was one of the principles of the Tory party and had the support of Wellington and Peel. But the hand of the government was forced by events in Ireland, where, throughout the twenties,

O'Connell had been agitating for the Catholic emancipation that had been refused at the time of the Union (1800). In 1828, when O'Connell was elected as member for County Clare, and was unable to sit in Parliament because of the religious tests, it seemed likely that civil war would break out. Peel and Wellington, who were too moderate and sensible to force such a conclusion by obstinacy, gave way. In 1829 they compelled their party to accept a bill for the emancipation of Catholics. But in the next year (1830), a renewed demand for Parliamentary reform led to the fall of the ministry.

CONTROL OF PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

In the eighteenth century Parliamentary government meant government by the landed aristocracy. When peers they had seats in the House of Lords, and they were also able, by controlling elections, to choose most of the members of the House of Commons. County representatives in the Commons were often freely chosen, for in the counties every one who possessed freehold land worth 40s. a year had a vote. Yet even in the counties, elections were sometimes decided by local magnates. Moreover, country elections were infrequent, since the expense incurred in fighting a seat was great, and candidates were often returned unopposed.

But the representatives of boroughs outnumbered those of counties by more than four to one, and the system of borough representation was very corrupt. The grounds on which a man had a right to vote varied in different boroughs. In some cases the mayor and corporation of the borough chose its representatives. In other cases the election was in the hands of a small number of the inhabitants. Some boroughs had so decreased in size, since the time when representation was granted to them, that they had scarcely any voters at all. In a few instances, as at Westminster, elections were free, and the franchise democratic. As a rule the smallness of the number of electors either enabled some great landowning family to control elections and to regard the borough representation as its own property, or made it possible for the votes of the electors to be bought.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

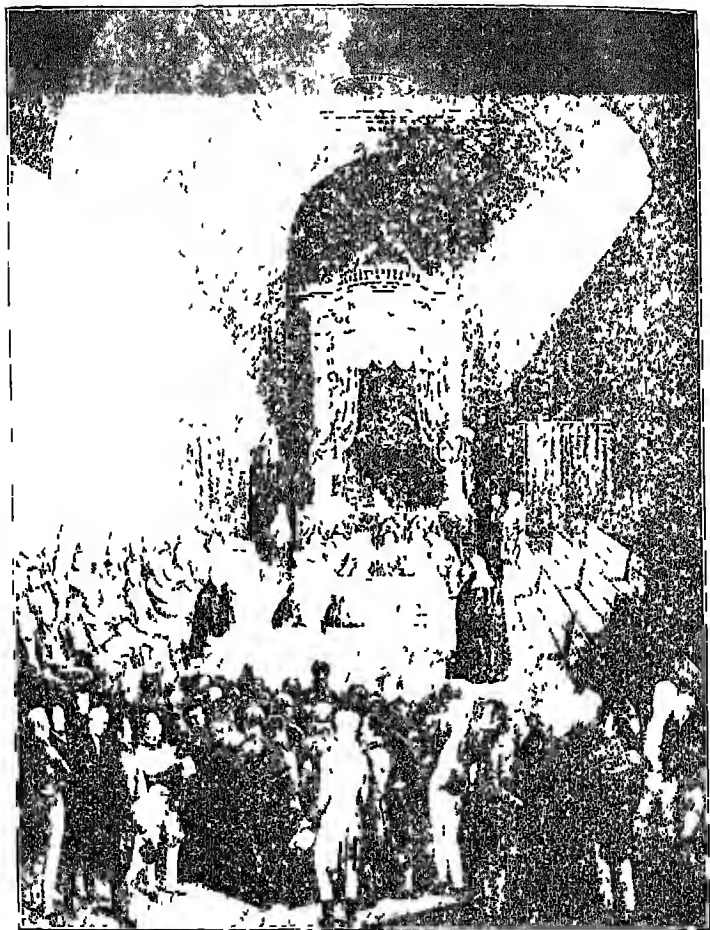
Control of Parliamentary elections had, in the eighteenth century, enabled the Whig landowners to rule England for fifty years. When George III brought about their downfall by turning their own methods of controlling Parliament against them the Whigs began to demand Parliamentary reform. Reform had also the support of Pitt during his earlier years, but his Reform Bill of 1785 was rejected by the Tories. In 1789 the outbreak of the French Revolution caused Pitt and the Tory party to adopt a policy of reaction, and to regard all proposals for reform as revolutionary. If the upper classes, who controlled Parliament, had now united against reform, it might have been possible to obtain it only by revolutionary means. But Fox, his disciple, Grey, and a minority of the Whig party continued to advocate it during the struggle with France.

After the Napoleonic war, however, it was not the aristocratic Whig leaders who revived the agitation for reform, but the working classes. They were inspired by Cobbett, and by such Radical speakers as Orator Hunt, who addressed the great mass meetings of 1819 to demand manhood suffrage. The Whigs had no connection with this working-class movement, which was represented in the Commons by Sir Francis Burdett, the member for Westminster, and by John Cam Hobhouse. But during the twenties, the Whig Lord John Russell secured the disfranchisement of the Cornish borough of Grampound (1821), while the Tories remained opposed to any change in the constitution.

In 1830, the struggle for religious equality being at an end, agitation for reform began again. This time it had the support of the middle classes, hitherto aloof. Cobbett's influence revived, and in London the Radical tailor, Francis Place, established the National Political Union. The Union's purpose was, like that of Atwood's Political Union in Birmingham, to organise the reformers. In the Political Unions, the middle classes and the workers united, and these societies kept the reform movement peaceable and orderly, and so quietened the fears of those inclined to confuse reform with revolution.

In July the French Revolution of 1830, which established a constitutional monarchy under Louis Philippe, greatly

encouraged the reformers. In the elections that followed the accession of William IV, Wellington's Tory majority was reduced in size. When the Duke announced his support of the existing system of representation, his ministry was defeated in the Commons and resigned.



THE REFORM BILL, 1832, RECEIVING THE ROYAL ASSENT IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS

THE PASSING OF THE FIRST REFORM ACT

The Reformers now came into office under Earl Grey. In his youth he had been a disciple of Fox, and had throughout his life supported reform, but had refused to introduce another reform bill till he was sure of middle class support. Grey's ministry included both Whigs and "Canningites," or Liberal Tories. Its most important members were Althorp, Melbourne, Lord John Russell, Palmerston, Brougham, and Sir James Graham. Its first Reform Bill (1831) was defeated in Committee, and Parliament was dissolved.

The Whigs had a majority in the next House of Commons, but when Lord John Russell brought forward a second Reform Bill, it was defeated in the Lords (1831). An outburst of popular feeling followed, and there was serious rioting, a great part of Bristol being burnt down. A third Reform Bill (1832) was introduced, and when it was threatened by defeat in the Lords, the King promised to create if necessary enough new peers to ensure a majority for it. The Lords then gave way, and passed the measure.

The Reform Act of 1832 trebled the number of people who had votes, but it did not establish democratic government. Fifty-six boroughs lost their representation in Parliament, while another thirty were in future to be represented by one member instead of by two. The seats taken from the boroughs were distributed among large towns, such as Manchester, many of which had previously been unrepresented in Parliament, and among the larger counties.

The franchise was made the same throughout the country. In the boroughs, the vote was given to all householders whose dwellings were assessed for rates at £10 a year. In the counties the franchise was extended to people who held on a long lease leasehold or copyhold land worth £10 a year, or £50 a year in the case of a short lease. The 40s freeholders retained the vote which they had had before. The result was to enfranchise the middle class, while the working class remained unrepresented and began new agitations for democratic government. The manufacturers and traders obtained a voice in the government, but the grant of the vote to tenant farmers kept the landed interest strong in the Commons. The landed aristocracy continued to dominate the House of Lords.

CHAPTER XLIV

LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM, AND CHARTISM

BENTHAMISM AND REFORM

The success of the Reform Act (1832) inspired the Whigs, first under the premiership of Lord Grey (1830-1834), and then under that of Lord Melbourne (1834-1841), to follow up their reform of Parliament by that of other institutions. A short period of energetic legislation occurred, in which the work of re-organisation done by the Liberal Tories in the twenties was carried on by the Whigs in a more drastic fashion.

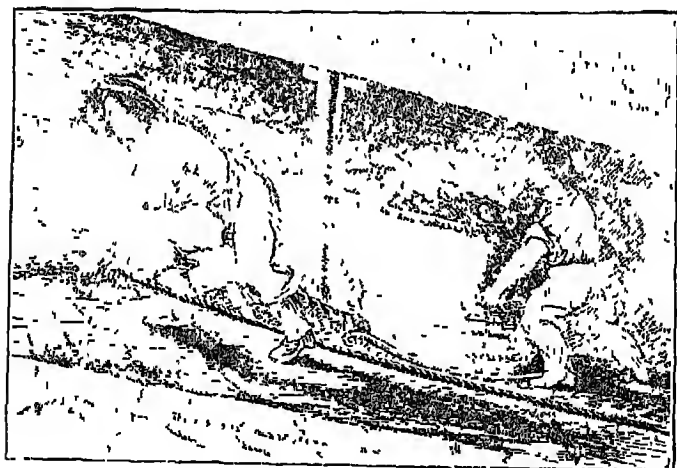
The eighteenth century respect for established institutions survived into the nineteenth. But it had to fight a losing struggle against the desire for reform inspired by the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith, and the individualism and utilitarianism of the philosopher Bentham. Bentham taught that the good of the community could best be attained by leaving the individual free to develop his own powers and his own enterprises. He also held that all institutions must be judged by their usefulness, what was useless being swept away without reverence for tradition.

The influence of Bentham inspired many reforms. Grey's ministry began the appointment of Royal Commissions to investigate the working of existing institutions and to suggest changes. Municipal government was reformed. A new poor law was enacted. Slavery was abolished, and a grant of money was made for popular education. These measures were not altogether the work of the Whigs. Popular education, the demand for the abolition of slavery, and the improvement of industrial conditions were begun by organisations or individuals outside Parliament. The Tories, rather than the Whigs, were responsible for the Factory Acts.

OWEN AND INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

The pioneer of factory improvement was Robert Owen, who, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, showed that improved industrial conditions were not harmful to trade. He carried on a

prosperous business in his mill at New Lanark, although hours of work were moderate and conditions healthy. His workers were well paid, and provision made for their education and recreation. Owen's example converted the Tory millowner, Sir Robert Peel, the father of the politician, and Peel and Owen drew up a Factory Act. But the influence of Bentham's doctrine of individualism, and of Adam Smith's arguments against government restrictions on industry led nineteenth century manufacturers to oppose all state intervention to protect the workers. Peel's Factory Act (1819) was so much amended that, when



WOMAN AND A CHILD DRAWING COAL IN A MINE

Rischgitz

passed, it did little more than forbid the employment in cotton mills of children under nine years of age.

In the thirties and forties the working class demand for industrial reform was organised by Oastler and Michael Sadler, and the Tory philanthropist, Lord Shaftesbury, supported factory legislation in Parliament. In 1833 the Tory humanitarians forced the Whigs to pass a Factory Act which forbade the employment of children under nine years old in factories manufacturing textiles other than silk. Children between nine and thirteen were not to work for more than eight hours a day, and women and youths for not more than ten hours. The most

important point about the Act was that it was to be enforced by government inspectors, and so could not be evaded by manufacturers and parents, as previous Acts had been.

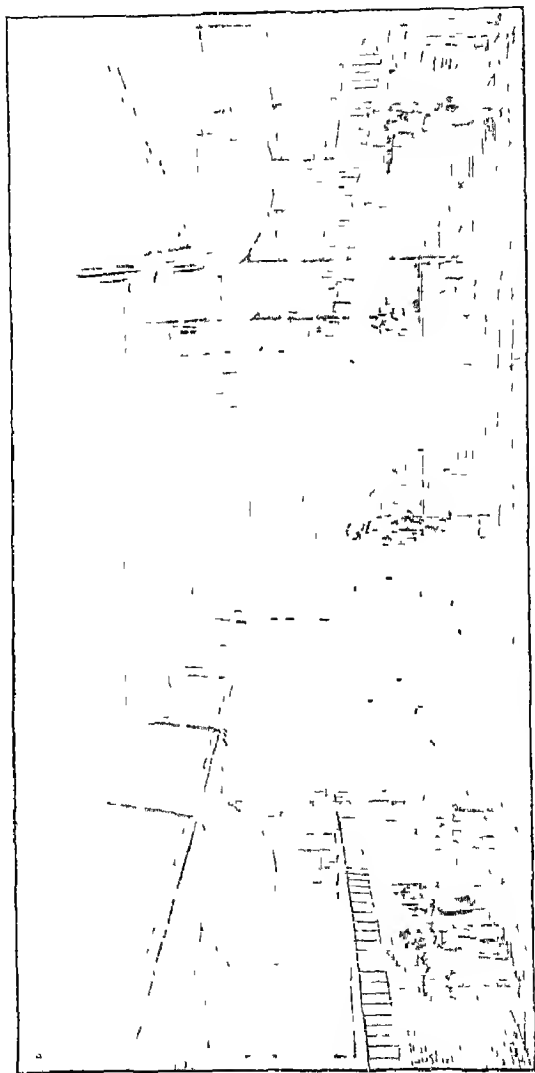
EDUCATION

During the early years of the nineteenth century, while Peel and Owen were attempting to improve industrial conditions, religious philanthropists were providing schools for the poor. The movement was begun by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, who invented the "monitorial system." By this system children could be taught cheaply, if not very satisfactorily, by a single master. The master kept order while the elder children (monitors) taught lessons, which they had learnt by heart, to the younger children.

Lancaster's work led to the foundation of the non-conformist "British and Foreign Schools Society" (1808). This provoked philanthropists of the Church of England to support the work of an Anglican teacher, Bell, and to found the "National Society" (1811). The building of Church Schools and Nonconformist Schools went on rapidly, until by 1832 those of the National Society numbered 12,000. In 1853 Parliament began the system of making an annual grant of £20,000 for education. The money went to support the work of the two societies, and was the first step towards the provision of elementary education by the state.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY

The later years of the eighteenth century had seen an anti-slavery movement, led by Wilberforce and supported by Fox, that brought about the abolition of the slave trade (1807). But slavery continued to exist in the West Indies, where the planters now bred their own slaves instead of importing them. Buxton and Zachary Macaulay exposed the abuses of West Indian slavery, and in 1823 an Anti-Slavery Association was established. In 1833 the Whigs passed an Act for the emancipation of slaves, and slavery was forbidden in the British Empire. Compensation was paid to slave owners, but discontent was caused among the West Indian sugar planters and the Boer farmers in South Africa.



JOSEPH LANCASTER'S SCHOOL IN THE BOROUGH ROAD, LONDON

THE POOR LAW

After the passing of the Reform Act, the Whigs had appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the working of the Poor Law, and in 1834 a Poor Law Amendment Act was passed. The most important abuse to be remedied was the practice of granting poor relief as an addition to wages. This practice, due to low wages, had been turned, by the Speenhamland magistrates (1795), into an organised system, based on the cost of living, and had led to the pauperisation and demoralisation of the workers. It ought to have been remedied by the establishment of a minimum wage, but, instead of this, the acceptance of poor relief was discouraged by the "workhouse test." This meant that outdoor relief for the able-bodied poor was abolished, and they were forced either to enter a workhouse or to support themselves.

The Elizabethan poor law had made each parish responsible for its own poor, and had established overseers to collect a poor-rate and to grant poor relief. In 1834 parishes were grouped into "Unions." In each Union the grant of poor relief was to be supervised by an elected "Board of Guardians." These Boards were responsible to a central body of three Poor Law Commissioners, who were transformed later into a Poor Law Board. Since the object of the system was to cause workers to be reluctant to take relief, life in the workhouses was deliberately made hard and wretched, with the intention of making the lot of paupers worse than that of independent labourers. The workhouses, nicknamed "Bastilles," caused bitter resentment, helped to cause class hostility, and spurred the working classes to attempts to establish democratic government.

MUNICIPAL REFORM

The Act of 1832 had reformed the system of borough representation in Parliament, but the government of the boroughs themselves remained corrupt. Their councils were, in most cases, chosen by a very small number of electors and did little for the town, local services being provided by private enterprise. In 1835 Lord John Russell brought forward the Municipal Corporations Act to reform this state of things.

Borough councillors were to be elected by the ratepayers of the borough, and were to hold office for three years. The

councillors were to elect aldermen, who were to hold office for six years, and a mayor, who was to be chosen annually. Municipal accounts were to be audited, in order to check the corruption and jobbery which had hitherto prevailed. The borough franchise was democratic, but the choice of councillors was



Gooch

SHOEMAKING INSTRUCTION AT A POOR LAW INSTITUTION, 1860

limited by a high property qualification. The new Act did not introduce sweeping changes, but paved the way for the extension of the functions of municipal councils during the nineteenth century. Local government outside the boroughs remained unchanged.

PEEL AND CONSERVATISM

After the Reform Act (1832) had been passed, Peel set himself to persuade the Tory party to accept the new state of affairs. In 1834 William IV, who disliked the Whigs, dismissed Melbourne, and made Peel his Prime Minister. It is doubtful whether the King was acting constitutionally in dismissing a ministry in which no disagreement about policy had occurred and which had not been defeated in the Commons. Peel at once secured the dissolution of Parliament, so that a general election could decide which party had the support of the country. In his address to his own constituents of Tamworth, he laid down the new Tory policy, which was to be one of reforming abuses while maintaining which was good in the constitution. This policy obtained the name of "Conservatism," and the Tamworth Manifesto (1834) is usually regarded as the point at which the old Tory became the modern Conservative.

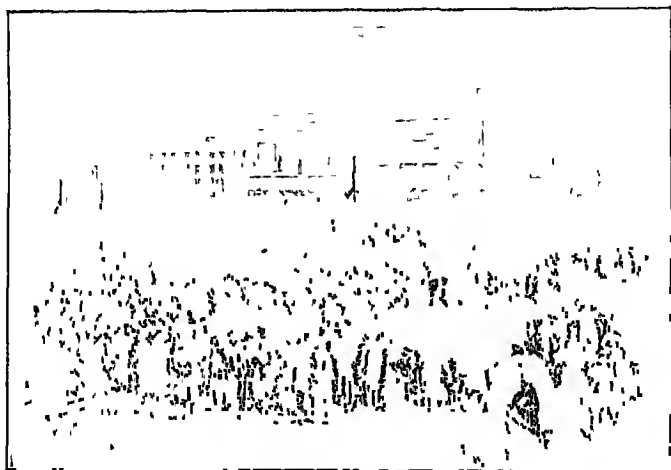
The election that followed increased the strength of the Conservative party, but not sufficiently to keep them in office. Peel was defeated in the Commons, and Melbourne again became Prime Minister. Melbourne was cultured, witty, and able, but he was not liberal in his opinions, and believed that things were best left alone. Under his leadership the Whig reforms came to an end with the passing of the Municipal Corporations Act (1835). His most important achievement was the training of Queen Victoria, who was only eighteen when she came to the throne (1837), in the duties of a constitutional sovereign and in a knowledge of the affairs of state.

The only drawback to this was that, when Melbourne, finding that his ministry was losing the support of the Commons, resigned (1839), the Queen was reluctant to exchange him for Sir Robert Peel who was stiffer and less charming. Peel, who lacked Melbourne's tact and who felt that Victoria was too much under the influence of the Whigs, made the situation more awkward by refusing to take office unless the Queen would dismiss her Whig Ladies of the Bedchamber, and replace them by Conservatives. Victoria refused, so, as a result of this "Bedchamber Question," Melbourne and the Whigs remained in power for another two years. In 1840 the Queen married

Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg who received the title of "Prince Consort" In 1841 an election gave the Conservatives a majority in the Commons, and Peel became Prime Minister

FINANCIAL CHANGES AND INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION

Since he had been trained in Tory principles, Peel did not consider himself a reformer Yet he had already established



CHARTIST GATHERING

The great gathering in Hyde Park to present the Monster Petition
From the *Illustrated London News*

the police force and reformed the criminal code, and his conversion to the cause of Catholic emancipation had shown that he could alter his policy to suit circumstances He had the confidence of his party and had been able to lead it from rigid Toryism to accept a Conservative policy of moderate reform As the son of a cotton manufacturer and the possessor of a fortune derived from trade, his sympathies lay with the Conservative manufacturers rather than with the Tory landowners, and the work of his ministry was designed to help trade by financial measures

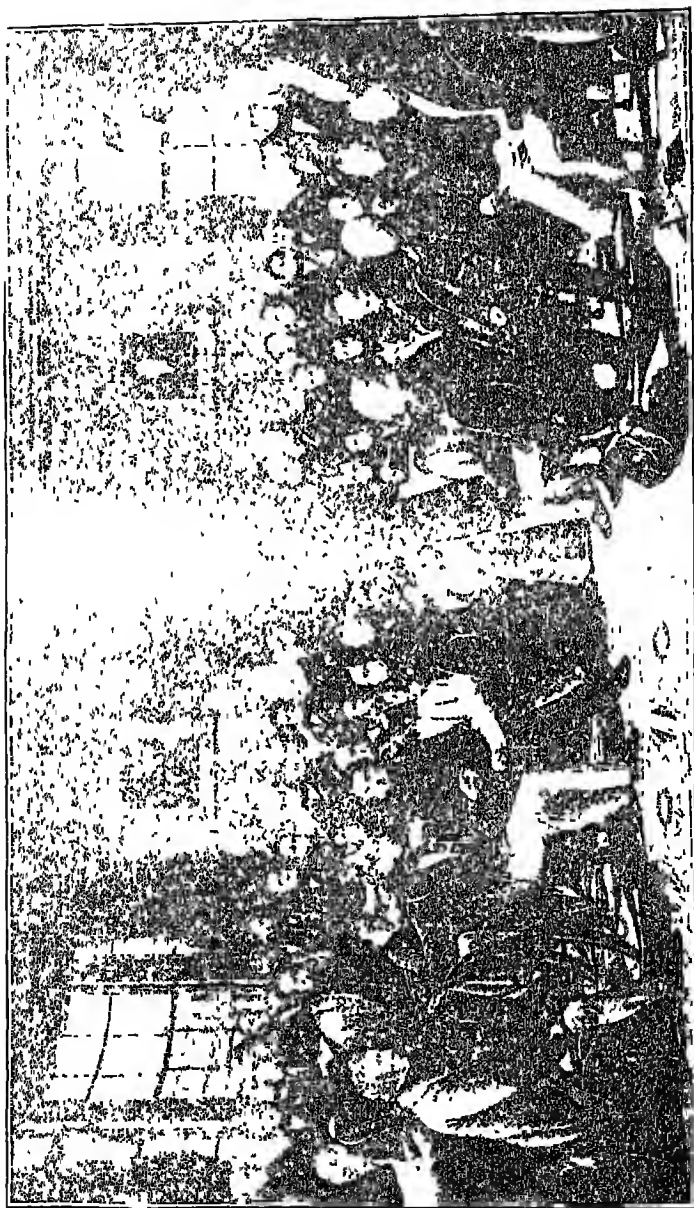
Huskisson had already made a step towards free trade by the reduction of duties. Peel carried the process further, and counterbalanced his reduction of duties for revenue purposes by an income tax of sevenpence in the pound. By the Bank Charter Act (1844) he limited the number of notes that could be issued by the Bank of England. He also made provisions which finally caused the issue of notes by English private banks to cease, and kept the value of banknotes stable. But while this policy was being carried forward in Parliament, public opinion outside was being organised to demand further changes.

At this period, nicknamed the "Hungry Forties," the working class was passing through a time of great misery. The price of food was high, wages were low, and conditions of work were often very bad. The new Poor Law (1834) deliberately imposed hardships upon able-bodied workers who had been driven to seek relief in the workhouses. The result was much bitter feeling, and various efforts to change one or another of these conditions. The Chartist movement continued the working class struggle to secure the votes which had not been granted to workers by the Reform Act (1832). At the same time there were attempts to improve economic conditions.

In 1841 a Parliamentary Commission was established to enquire into the conditions under which women and children worked in mines. The shocking revelations which followed led to an Act to forbid boys under ten and women to be employed in mines at all. In 1847, the work of women and children in factories was limited to ten hours a day, and this involved a similar reduction in the working hours of men.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE COBDEN AND BRIGHT

This industrial legislation was inspired by the Conservative Lord Shaftesbury. It was looked on with disfavour by manufacturers, for the economists of the day taught that government interference was harmful to industry. The manufacturers argued that the poverty of the workers should be relieved by the repeal of the Corn Laws, which checked the importation of foreign corn, and so kept up the price of bread. This struggle for corn-law repeal came into the forefront of politics during the forties because the rivalry between industrial and agricultural



COBLEN ADDRESSING THE ANTI-CORN LAW LEAGUE COUNCIL

interests found expression in it. The landowners and farmers argued that the manufacturers wanted cheap corn in order to be able to pay their workmen low wages, and that to let England become dependent upon foreign countries for food was dangerous. The manufacturers argued that landowners and farmers wanted protection in order to keep up the prices, and to become rich at the expense of the poor. They advocated the adoption of free trade.

The opponents of the Corn Laws organised the Anti-Corn Law League (1838) to spread their doctrines. The centre of this League was Manchester, and it was financed principally by cotton manufacturers, its leaders being Richard Cobden and John Bright. Bright, the son of a Rochdale Quaker, was a great orator, while the speaking of Cobden, a Manchester cotton manufacturer, combined enthusiasm with a clever use of statistics. Cobden had a genuine belief that industrial development made for the happiness of mankind and would usher in an age of peace and prosperity. This gave his support of free trade a crusading fervour that led his opponents to sneer at him as "an inspired bagman," who believed in a "cotton millennium." But cheap bread was an attractive theme, and the speeches of the Anti-Corn Law League agitators soon aroused popular enthusiasm, and obtained the support of the nation for free trade.

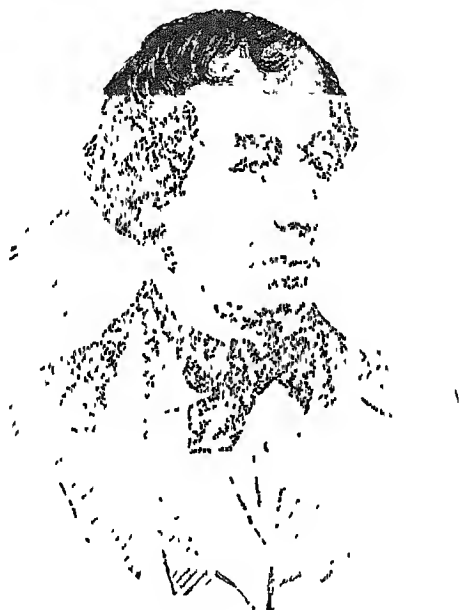
THE REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

Peel was unwilling to carry his free trade principles as far as the repeal of the Corn Laws. His own interests and sympathies were those of the manufacturers, but the Conservative party was the party of the landowners who were strong supporters of protection for agriculture. Peel at first refused to meddle with the Corn Laws, but he was never a convinced opponent of repeal, and had difficulty in replying to arguments in its favour. He knew that he would split his party if he gave way.

In 1845 a crisis seemed to have appeared. The Anti-Corn Law agitation in the country had aroused the lower classes, and a bad harvest increased their discontent. At the same time the failure of the potato crop caused famine in Ireland. Peel decided that the price of corn must be brought down, and that the Corn Laws must be repealed. When his Cabinet would not agree to this policy he resigned. Owing to quarrels in the Whig party,

which prevented Lord John Russell from forming a ministry, he was obliged to return to office and repeal the Corn Laws himself (1846)

The Commons passed the measure for repeal because they knew that, if it were defeated, a general election would certainly give the necessary majority for it. The Duke of Wellington, who realised that the failure of the Bill might cause revolutionary



LORD BEACONSFIELD

outbursts, induced the Lords to pass it. But the Conservative landowners felt that Peel had betrayed them, and he lost the support of the convinced protectionists, who had for their champion the brilliant Jew, Benjamin Disraeli. Disraeli took this opportunity of making his reputation by sarcastic and harassing attacks upon Peel.

The repeal of the Corn Laws committed England to the policy of becoming an industrial nation, and of championing free trade. Industry expanded rapidly and wealth increased, but it is difficult to know how far this was due to free trade, and how far to the

fact that England was industrialised before other nations, and so lacked effective competitors. Agriculture did not at first suffer through loss of protection, for the outbreak of the Crimean war kept up the price of corn in the fifties, and in the sixties the American Civil War checked the import of American corn. After this British agriculture began to feel the effect of foreign competition.

CHARTISM

The movement for political reform that followed the Napoleonic wars had originated with the working classes, though



POLICE AWAITING THE CHARTIST PROCESSION IN HYDE PARK
From the *Illustrated London News*

it was not till the middle classes and the aristocratic Whigs united with them that the Reform Act of 1832 was secured. That measure was a great disappointment to the workers for, in spite of the part which they had played in obtaining it, it left them without votes. The reformed government soon aroused working class hostility by the harsh treatment of the able-bodied pauper instituted by the Poor Law Amendment Act. There was still a general belief that if democratic government were established the poverty and misery of the lower classes would be swept away and better wages and industrial conditions obtained. So another movement for political reform arose.

This was Chartism, so named from the "People's Charter" (1838) drawn up by William Lovatt, the leader of the London Working Men's Association. The programme of the Charter was political, and the "six points" demanded were manhood suffrage, voting by ballot, the establishment of equal electoral districts, the payment of members of Parliament, the abolition of a property qualification for M P s, and the election of annual Parliaments. These things have, with the exception of the last, been obtained since, and do not seem unreasonable or revolutionary to modern ideas.

The Charter was taken up enthusiastically throughout the country. Chartist associations sprang up everywhere and sent representatives to a central Convention at Birmingham, which organised a petition to Parliament to accept the Charter (1839). The Chartist leaders were divided on the policy to be adopted to force the government to comply. Lovatt and the greater number of the Chartists were opposed to the use of physical force. But there was also a "physical force" minority led by Feargus O'Connor, an unstable enthusiast, who had conducted a newspaper the "Northern Star" in Leeds to support Chartism.

The rejection of the petition led to serious rioting and some bloodshed, the most serious risings being at Birmingham and at Newport. But a revolution was avoided and order restored, partly through the moderation with which Sir Charles Napier controlled his troops, and partly because the Whig government treated the whole movement tactfully. Measures of repression such as had aroused popular hostility in 1819 were avoided.

THE DECLINE OF THE CHARTIST MOVEMENT

In the forties the Anti-Corn Law agitation turned popular feeling into another channel. But in 1848, the "year of revolutions," the revolutionary movements in other European countries were accompanied by a Chartist demonstration in England when a monster petition was presented to Parliament. Again the government did not make the mistake of adopting repressive measures, though precautions were taken for maintaining order. But the petition brought ridicule on the movement when it was discovered that many of its signatures were forgeries, and Chartism collapsed.

That it was not revived again was due to many factors.--- Trade was reviving, and the work of Shaftesbury and the Conservatives was securing improvement in industrial conditions. With the revival of trade, England began to take pride in her industrial supremacy, advertised by the Great Exhibition of 1851. The doctrines of individualism and free trade, on which it was supposed to rest, became universally accepted. The workers looked less to Parliamentary intervention for the improvement of their conditions, and more to working class organisation. In 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was founded, and trade unionism became more efficient, and inclined to put faith in negotiations and in a policy of progressive improvement rather than in strikes and violence.

The repeal of the Corn Laws had split the Conservative party (1846). For almost twenty years, except for two short intervals when the Conservative Protectionists were in office under Lord Derby (1852 and 1858-1859), England was governed by a combination of Peelite Conservatives, Whigs, and Liberals, under the premierships of Lord John Russell (1846-1852), Lord Aberdeen (1852-1855), and Lord Palmerston (1855-1858 and 1859-1865). Party leaders did not favour advanced measures in home policy. Though Liberalism was steadily growing in the Whig party, it did not become predominant until the death of Palmerston (1865) removed the control of the old-fashioned, aristocratic Whigs.

CHAPTER XLV

INDIA 1783-1858

PITT'S INDIA ACT

The extension of British power in India roused a feeling that the control of Indian policy ought not to be left entirely in the hands of a trading concern like the East India Company. But to find the best way in which authority would be divided between the Company and the British Parliament was a difficult problem. North's Regulating Act (1773), the first attempt at a solution, proved to have many defects, and, after the defeat of Fox's India Bill (1783) which would have taken away the Company's political authority altogether, Pitt passed his India Act (1784).

North's Act had placed a Governor-General and Council at the head of the Indian administration, but, while all responsibility rested upon the Governor-General, his Council was able to out-vote and overrule him. The Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-1785) had shown the defects of this arrangement. Hastings had had to carry out his policy in spite of continual opposition from a section of his Council, headed by Philip Francis. Pitt's India Act re-organised the Council, so that the Governor-General could no longer be overruled. It established a Parliamentary Board of Control, which the Directors of the East India Company had to consult upon Indian affairs. This was intended to link up the policy of Parliament with that of the Company. Pitt's Act remained the basis of Indian administration till 1858.

The work of Clive and Warren Hastings (1772-1785) had made the Company the greatest power in India. It had taken over the task of administering Bengal. The Carnatic and the Circars were under its control. It was in alliance with Oudh, and its influence extended over the states of the Deccan and of north-eastern India. Feeling in England was opposed to any further extension of its power, and Pitt's Act forbade interference in the affairs of native states. But in practice a policy of non-interven-

tion in Indian affairs proved impossible, and the Company was-- forced to extend its dominions almost against its own will

CORNWALLIS AND BENGAL

Cornwallis, Warren Hastings' successor, made important changes in the administration of Bengal. His ideas were purely English, and he lacked Hastings' understanding of Indians and of Indian institutions. He began the policy of excluding Indians from responsible positions, giving them good government but no share in ruling themselves.

Under the rule of the Moguls "zemindars," or collectors, had been placed over each district of Bengal, and were expected to provide the central government with the amount of revenue it demanded. But they were free to keep for themselves as much more as they could extract from the Indian peasants. Under the rule of the Company these native zemindars paid over their contributions to the British Collectors put in charge of revenue and administration by Warren Hastings.

The Company let the amount demanded vary in accordance with the prosperity of the country. Cornwallis made the mistake of fixing the amount paid by zemindars instead of letting it vary. This "Permanent Settlement" of Bengal prevented the Government from obtaining more revenue as the prosperity of the country increased. But it left the zemindars free to extract as much more as they chose from the peasants. The loss to the Government therefore benefited only a small section of the native population.

WELLESLEY'S POLICY OF CONQUEST

Pitt's Act had forbidden interference with native states but the hostility of Tipu Sahib, the ruler of Mysore, forced Cornwallis to disregard it. Tipu was a warlike Mahomedan, who hoped to make himself ruler of southern India. With the help of native allies, Cornwallis took his capital, Seringapatam, and forced him to surrender half of Mysore (1791-2). This led Tipu to intrigue with the French, then the enemies of Britain in the Revolutionary War, and other native rulers followed Tipu's example. French officers were sent to train and organise the armies of states under French influence, and, in 1798, Napoleon landed in Egypt and was known to be planning Eastern conquests that included India.

But in 1798 Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington, afterwards created Marquess Wellesley, became Governor-General. Wellesley was, by taste, an empire-builder, and deliberately aimed at British supremacy over India. He used French intrigues and Napoleon's schemes as an excuse for abandoning Pitt's policy of non-interference, and set himself to bring India under British control.

Wellesley's first task was to subdue the native rulers of southern India. In 1799 he defeated and killed Tipu Sahib and restored Mysore to the Hindu rajahs who had been driven out by Tipu's predecessor, Haidar Ali. He made the new ruler of Mysore accept a "subsidiary alliance" with Britain. This meant that he was to be protected by a British army, for which he was to pay, and the foreign policy of the state was to be under British control. This kind of treaty, which left a native ruler to govern his own province but brought him effectively under British influence, became the basis of British control over many Indian states.

Wellesley's next expansion of British territory was in northern India, at the expense of Oudh, the neighbour of Bengal and the oldest ally of the Company. Oudh was in a state of anarchy, so Wellesley took the opportunity to persuade its ruler to accept a new treaty of subsidiary alliance, which brought his state completely under British influence. He was also led to hand over the greater part of his territory to the Company (1801). The provinces thus annexed by the Company bordered upon Bengal, and became known as the North-west Provinces.

The Company was now the ruling power in southern and north-eastern India, but central India remained in the hands of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas were not united into a single state, but were a confederacy of independent princes under the nominal leadership of a potentate, known as the "Peshwa," whose capital was at Poona. In 1802 the Mahratta princes drove out the Peshwa, who turned to the British for help. Wellesley saw a chance of bringing central India under his control, and persuaded the Peshwa to accept a subsidiary alliance in the Treaty of Bassein. He then sent his brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, to restore him. The Mahrattas were defeated by Arthur Wellesley at Assaye and Argaum, and by Lake at Delhi and Laswari. In 1805, the authorities in London, made nervous by the way in which their responsibilities

in India were being increased, recalled Wellesley, and the conquest of the Mahrattas was not completed

Wellesley's achievements had been great. In a few years he had made the British masters of southern and north-eastern India, and had also managed the colossal task of re-organising the administration of his new provinces. The British refusal to complete the conquest of the Mahrattas meant that the struggle with them had to be fought out later.

NEPAL, BURMA, AND THE MAHRATTAS

After the recall of Wellesley the policy of extending British power in India was abandoned for a time. Also, in 1815, the East India Company's monopoly was taken away and Indian trade was thrown open to all-comers.

The British policy of inaction had unfortunate results. Bengal was raided by the Gurkhas, and other states under British protection by Mahrattas and Pindaris. When the British failed to protect their allies, Indian respect for them decreased. Since the British were comparatively few in India, and their power rested less upon their real strength than on their reputation for invincibility, this loss of native respect was a serious matter.

Lord Hastings (1813-1822), the next important Governor-General after Wellesley, realised this, and abandoned the policy of inaction for new conquests. He dealt first with the Gurkhas, who lived in the mountainous state of Nepal, on the northern border of Bengal. War in such mountainous country was difficult, but the Gurkhas were at last overcome. Nepal was left independent, and the Gurkhas promised friendship to Britain (1815). The promise has been loyally kept. Hastings then completed the conquest of the Mahrattas. Their nominal ruler, the Peshwa, was dethroned, and treaties were made with the Mahratta princes and with the Rajput chiefs who had been under their control. This made the British masters of central India. British supremacy now extended over all India, except the north-western lands beyond the Indus.

Hasting's successor, Amherst (1823-28), made war on Burma, whose rulers were hostile to British merchants. He conquered Assam and the Burmese coast, so that the English now controlled both shores of the Bay of Bengal.

BENTINCK'S REFORMS

Hastings was not only a conqueror, he improved Indian administration, and tried to understand and conciliate the Indians. This side of his policy was carried on by Amherst's successor, Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835). Moreover, in the Act which renewed the charter of the East India Company (1833) all posts in the Company's service were thrown open to Indians. The principle was laid down that India ought to be governed in the interests of the natives rather than of Europeans, and that a uniform code of law should be drawn up for India. The East India Company, which had already lost its trading monopoly, was forbidden to trade at all, and became solely a political body.

To carry out the codification of Indian law demanded by the Act, a Legal Member was added to the Council. This post was given to the Whig historian, Macauley. While in India, Macauley became Chairman of the Committee on Education, and the Minute he produced on the subject had an important effect on the future of India. It was now to be decided whether the British should support education of the Indians on Eastern or Western lines. The great number of languages existing in India made it impossible for Indians to be educated in their native tongue, and Macauley's Minute turned the scale in favour of the use of English in education, instead of Arabic or Sanskrit. An English education inevitably meant the spread of western ideas in India, and so had important consequences.

Bentinck also did good work in repressing the Hindu practices of suttee and thuggee. "Suttee" was the suicide of a widow at the funeral pyre of her husband. The "thugs" was a sect who placed murder and robbery among their religious duties. The British had always been reluctant to stir up trouble by interfering with the religious practices of India, but the repression of these customs met with little opposition.

AFGHANISTAN AND SINDH

Britain was now the paramount power in India almost as far west as the Indus, but the valley of the Indus itself was occupied by independent states. On the lower Indus was Sindh, ruled by a number of Mohammedan "Mirs," or chieftains. The region of the upper Indus and its tributaries, the Punjab, or

"Land of Five Rivers," was ruled by the Sikhs, a religious sect. Their leader, Ranjit Singh, had organised an efficient army under European officers, and had established Sikh control over an Hindu and Mohammedan population. Beyond these states, and controlling the mountain passes into India at the only corner where its northern mountain barrier could be crossed by an invader, lay Afghanistan.

British relations with these warlike states had been friendly, and might have remained so if the Russians had not been extending their dominions in central Asia, and approaching nearer and nearer to India. Afghanistan was the gateway to India, and the British feared that the Afghans might fall under Russian influence and that the Russians might organise a Mohammedan revolt in India against British supremacy. The British dealt unwisely with the situation. They first neglected it till the Russians had established their influence in Afghanistan, and then tried to force a new ruler, favourable to Britain, upon the warlike Afghans. A British force was wiped out by the Afghans in the narrow Khyber Pass (1842), and though Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan was taken later, the British wisely realised that their attempt to coerce the Afghans had failed, and withdrew from the country.

This failure was a severe blow to British prestige in India, and the Afghan war also led to trouble with Sindh, some of whose towns had been seized and occupied as military bases. Determined to restore the British reputation for invincibility, Sir Charles Napier used an attack made on the British residency at Hyderabad as an excuse for conquering Sindh, and the state was annexed. Public opinion in England was so opposed to this policy of annexation that the Governor-General of India, Lord Ellenborough was recalled.

DALHOUSIE'S ANNEXATIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The annexation of Sindh was followed by trouble with its neighbours, the Sikhs of the Punjab. After the death of its leader, Ranjit Singh, their army had fallen into disorder, and began to make raids into British territory. The struggle with the Sikhs was a long one. After their country had been conquered by General Gough, they revolted against the army of occupation left there. After a second conquest the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856) decided to annex the

Punjab It was so well administered by the brothers, John and Henry Lawrence, that the Sikhs soon became reconciled to British rule, and remained loyal after the outbreak of the Indian Mutiny (1857)

Lord Dalhousie was one of the most energetic British rulers of India He was determined that India should be well-governed, and swept aside the rights of native rulers when he felt that they stood in the way of efficient government He also introduced western improvements His work benefited the people of India, but it was carried out without sufficient attention to their rights and prejudices Native rulers became alarmed, while the people began to fear an attack on their religion In this way Dalhousie's policy helped to cause the Indian Mutiny

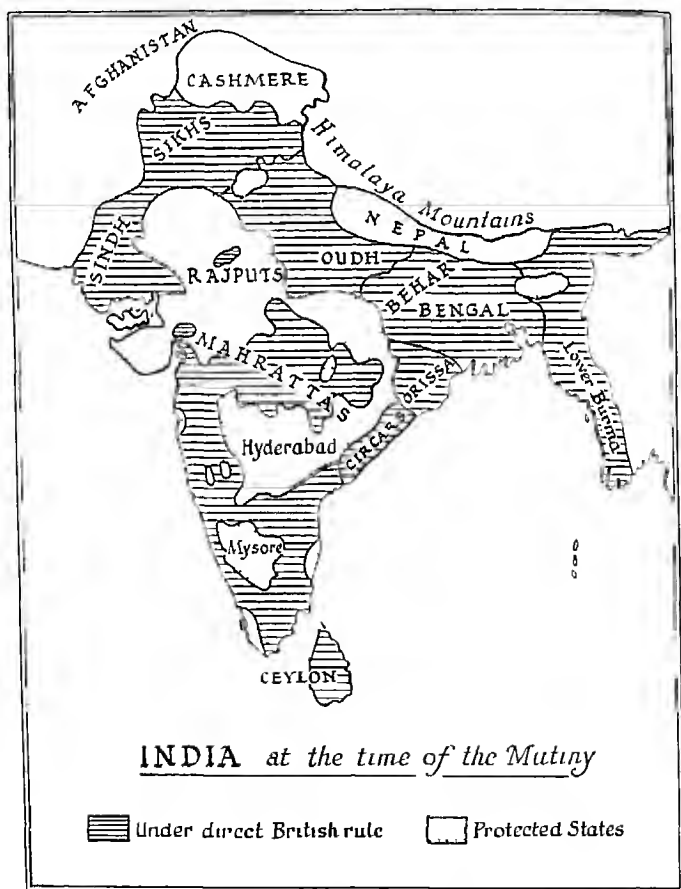
Many of the native states under British protection were misgoverned by their Indian rulers, and Dalhousie did not hesitate to use legal arguments to bring such states under direct British control His argument was that the British had succeeded the Mogul emperors as overlords of India, and that when a native ruler died without a heir his state passed automatically under British control It was customary for Indian princes who had no heir to adopt one, but, in states which had been misgoverned, Dalhousie refused to permit this In this way he annexed eight native states, while Oudh was taken into British hands on the sole excuse of misgovernment

This policy tended to make all Indian rulers feel insecure They began to suspect that Britain, who had respected their rights, was beginning a career of unlimited conquest and annexation Dalhousie's improvements also ran counter to many Indian prejudices He began the work of opening out the country by roads and railways, introduced the telegraph, and made irrigation canals

THE INDIAN MUTINY

The introduction of the telegraph helped to save British authority in India at the time of the Mutiny (1857-1858) The Indian Mutiny was a military revolt, not a national rising Its immediate cause was the discontent of the Indian troops (sepoys) employed by the British These sepoys were badly paid, and their religious prejudices had not been sufficiently considered

To many Indians the western improvements introduced by Dalhousie seemed to be a threat to their religion. The introduction of a new rifle, in which greased cartridges were used (1857) caused a legend that the British were trying to attack Indian religions by polluting their soldiers through the use of the fat of pigs, which the Mohammedans considered unclean, and of cows, which were sacred to the Hindus. Dalhousie's annexations and various private grievances led some Indian rulers to support



THE INDIAN MUTINY, 1857-1858

the Mutiny, but there was no national rising. Serious rebellion was confined to the upper Ganges valley, spreading later to central India.

In March, 1857, there was trouble with the sepoy at Barrackpore, near Calcutta. But the Mutiny did not really begin till May, when three native regiments stationed at Meerut, in the North-west Provinces killed their officers and captured Delhi. The telegraph now did important work in making the mutiny in the North-west Provinces known to the British in other parts of India. The revolt spread along the Ganges valley, and at Cawnpore, the Nana Sahib, who was the heir of the Peshwa deposed by the British in 1818, avenged himself by massacring the British garrison and the women and children who belonged to it. In central India the Nana Sahib was proclaimed Peshwa by some of the Mahrattas, but the chief centres of trouble continued to be in the north, at Delhi in the North-west Provinces, and at Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, where the British were besieged by a large army of mutineers.

Fortunately for Britain, most of the Indian states remained loyal, for it would have been quite impossible for the small British force in India to stamp out a wide-spread revolt. Before the end of 1857, John Nicholson, the able ruler of the Punjab, had re-captured Delhi, though he himself was killed in the struggle. The relief of Lucknow, the other centre of revolt, took a long time. Havelock had marched there after first taking Cawnpore, which was captured two days after the massacre, but Havelock's forces were small, and he found himself shut up in Lucknow by the besiegers. The city finally was relieved by Sir Colin Campbell in 1858. After this, Oudh and the North-west Provinces were soon re-conquered, while Sir Hugh Rose subdued the Mahrattas.

THE INDIA ACT OF 1858

The worst feature of the Mutiny was the ferocious cruelty practised by both English and Indians. In England there was a demand for the punishment of the rebels, but the Governor-General, Lord Canning, acted with a wise leniency that helped the country to settle down again under English rule. A result of the Mutiny was the abolition of the East India Company, whose trading activities had first established British power in India. In 1858 a new India Act was passed, which dissolved the

Company, and brought India under the direct control of the Crown

A Secretary of State for India was established. At the same time a proclamation was issued which promised that Britain would respect the rights of native princes, afford equal protection to all religions, and open official posts to all subjects of the Crown, whatever their religion or race. This last promise was not put into practice, for the Mutiny had temporarily destroyed English confidence in the loyalty of India, and English government became more despotic. India was administered by officials, and the realisation of Indian ideals of self-government was postponed for many years.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE CRIMEAN WAR

TURKEY AND THE BALKANS

The Crimean War arose out of the unsettled state of the Balkans. It was a war at once costly and futile. The settlement of the Eastern Question which ended it did not prove lasting, but the struggle is important for its effect upon European international relations.

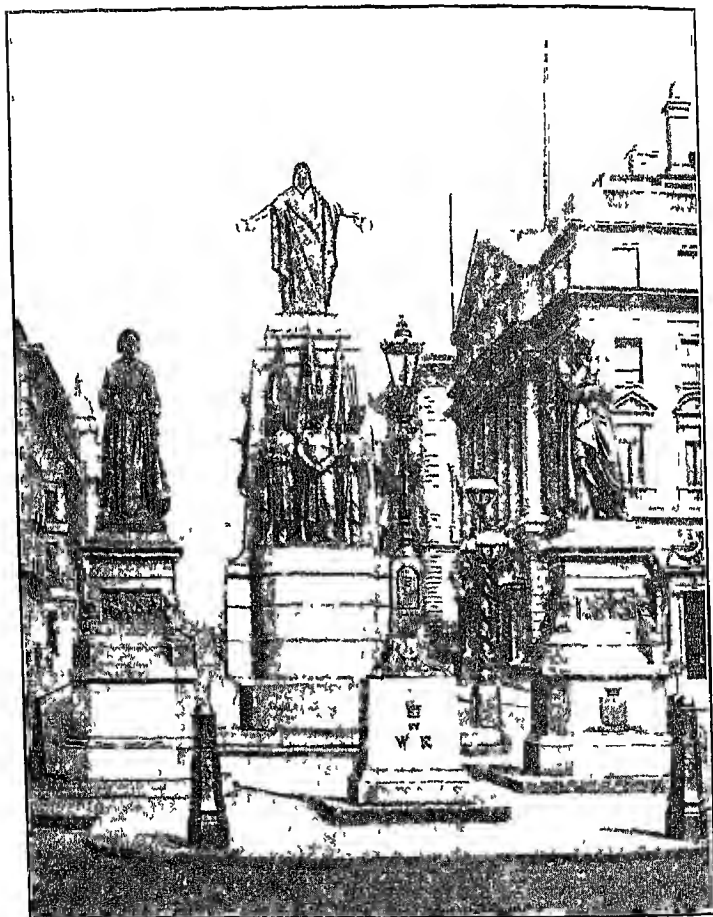
The relations of Turkey with her Christian subjects in the Balkans constantly troubled European statesmen during the nineteenth century. The idea of Christians under Mohammedan rule was unpalatable to Christian Europe. Normally Turkish rule was little more than a military occupation, coupled with a demand for the payment of taxes. But the Turks were apt to resort to cruelty and massacre when some rising or conspiracy threatened their authority. This ferocity was partly due to their weakness, for the Turkish empire was disorganised, and seemed to be on the verge of breaking up.

Turkish control of the Balkans was threatened by the desire of some of the Balkan races for independence. Greece had already become free, and the Roumanians of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Serbs, and the Montenegrins, had obtained some degree of self-government. If the question had been solely one of Balkan independence, the other European powers might either have stood aside, and let the Turks and their subjects fight out their differences, or they might have united in securing freedom for the Balkan Christians. But such a solution was prevented by fear of the extension of Russian power in the Near East. So Europe was concerned not only with the fate of the Balkans, but also with the best means of checking Russian influence there.

RUSSIAN INFLUENCE IN THE BALKANS

Apart from any desire to increase her own power, Russia had special reasons for interest in the Balkan races. Most of them, like the Russians, were Slavs, and most of them, like Russia, belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church, of which the

Russian Czar was the acknowledged head By the eighteenth century Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji Turkey had made promises to Russia regarding her Christian subjects upon which Russia based a claim to be their Protector. Turkey never agreed to this, for to do so would have meant granting Russia almost unlimited power to interfere in her internal affairs Nevertheless, Russia encouraged the Christians of the Balkans to rely on her support



CRIMEA MEMORIAL

The other European powers feared the extension of Russian influence in the Balkans and especially the possibility that the Russians might seize Constantinople. The powers had various reasons for this attitude. Austria had her own ambitions in the Balkans, and regarded Russia as her rival there. France and England did not want Russia, by obtaining Constantinople, to become a Mediterranean sea-power and their rival for the trade of the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition to this England felt that a Russian advance would threaten Egypt and the route to India. This made England, during the nineteenth century, the leader of opposition to Russian policy in the Near East.

BRITISH POLICY IN THE NEAR EAST

There was more than one means of checking Russian influence in the Balkans. Canning's policy with regard to the struggle for Greek independence had shown that Britain and other nations might co-operate with Russia in supporting Balkan nations in their struggle for freedom. This would have prevented Russia from appearing in the role of sole liberator and protector. But Palmerston, instead of adopting this policy, had chosen to check Russia by supporting Turkey. Even when the Sultan, threatened by the conquests of his vassal, Mehemet Ali of Egypt, turned to Russia for help, Palmerston refused to support the dismemberment of Turkey. He bullied the European powers into confining Mehemet's authority to Egypt once more, and checked Russian influence over Turkey by the Convention of the Straits (1841). This forbade foreign warships to pass the Dardanelles, thus cutting off the Russian fleet from the Mediterranean.

The Czar Nicholas did not wish his policy in the Near East to bring him into conflict with Britain. He had no intention of abandoning his claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan but he believed that the Turkish empire, weak and disorganised as it was, was on the verge of breaking up. Twice (1844 and 1853) he proposed to the British that they should abandon their policy of supporting the Turks, and make agreement with Russia for the division of the Turkish empire. Such an agreement would have safeguarded Egypt, and would have rendered the Crimean War unnecessary, though the partition would probably have been more to the advantage of Russia.

than of England. British statesmen, however, neither trusted Russia, nor believed that the Turkish empire was about to fall. They continued the Palmerstonian policy of supporting the Turks.

THE CUSTODY OF THE HOLY PLACES

The Czar not only claimed to be the Protector of the Balkan Christians, but also of the Greek Orthodox Church in Palestine which was under Turkish rule. In Palestine, the Christians of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches quarrelled continually over the custody of the Holy Places, with the Mohammedan Turks acting as umpires between them. Since France, from the time of the Crusades had claimed to be the protector of the Catholics in the Holy Land, the quarrels of the two Churches there were liable to involve their protectors, France and Russia.

In 1853, the Czar's attempts at an agreement with Britain failed, and he demanded that Turkey should acknowledge his right to protect her Christian subjects, and should make concessions to the Greek Orthodox Church in Palestine. These demands were certain to annoy both Britain and France, but the Turks might have evaded them by diplomatic concessions, if the Sultan had not been under the influence of the British ambassador. Sir Stratford Canning was pro-Turk and anti-Russian, and was a resourceful man who was inclined to pursue his own policy without paying much attention to the wishes of the government at home. He promised the Sultan British support, and persuaded him, while making concessions about the Holy Places, to deny the Czar's right to protect the Balkan Christians.

RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

The Czar retaliated by occupying the Turkish provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, on the Danube (1853). For England to have permitted this would have been to abandon her whole policy of maintaining Turkey against Russia. France, where Louis Napoleon had just become Emperor as Napoleon III (1852), had a variety of motives for opposing Russia. The new Emperor desired to increase his popularity by successes abroad. The dispute in Palestine had roused Catholic feeling. Also it

was necessary to guard French trading interests in the Mediterranean and the Near East

But France and England hesitated and lost the best moment for rapid and effective interference. They referred the whole matter to a Conference at Vienna, which issued a Note to suggest that Turkey should make certain concessions. The Czar accepted the Note, but the Sultan, probably under the influence of Canning, whose share in the matter is not, even now, clearly known, refused the terms suggested and prepared for war.

In spite of the Convention of the Straits (1841), which forbade foreign warships to enter the Dardanelles, France and England sent their fleets as "moral support" for Turkey. Soon after their arrival the Russians destroyed a Turkish squadron at Sinope (1853). English public opinion inflamed by the influence of Palmerston and the newspapers, regarded this naval action as if it were an atrocity, dubbing it the "Massacre of Sinope." A declaration of war on Russia by France and England followed, and the Crimean War had begun.

THE WAR IN THE PRINCIPALITIES

The Crimean War did not begin in the Crimea, but in the Turkish principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, which had been occupied by Russia. Since the French and English armies had not yet appeared on the scene, the task of driving out the Russians fell to the Turks. But they were not entirely without support, for the Principalities were on the border of the Austrian empire, and Austria had no intention of allowing them to fall into Russian hands. Although Austria did not take part in the war, it was her threatening attitude, rather than the Turkish army, that was responsible for the rapidity with which the Russians withdrew (1854).

ATTACK ON THE CRIMEA

The Russians having been driven out of the Principalities, a settlement might have been reached without further fighting. But France and England had despatched armies to the Balkans, and public opinion was inflamed. They were not inclined to make peace till the Russians had been defeated and forced to renounce their claim to interfere in Turkish affairs. They therefore sought for a point at which to attack Russia, and selected

the fort of Sebastopol, at the southern end of the Crimean peninsula, which divides the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea.

Sebastopol had many advantages as a point of attack. Its capture would end Russian control of the Black Sea, and would be a severe blow to Russian naval power. Moreover, the Allied armies could carry on a war in the Crimea while maintaining their naval communications with France and England. Though there was little sea-fighting in the Crimean war, the Allies used their navies as the basis of their military operations.

Neither the French nor the English army produced a general of marked ability during the Crimean war. At first the English were commanded by Lord Raglan, who had fought at Waterloo. Though he had been a good soldier in his youth, he was too old to adjust himself easily to new conditions of warfare. He was, however, more capable than the French general, Marshal St Arnaud.

The English military authorities were old-fashioned in their methods and ideas, and surprisingly little alteration had taken place in military training or equipment since the Napoleonic war. Organisation was bad, and the Allies lost all the advantages they might have gained by rapid action. The only leader who in any way distinguished himself in the war was the Russian commander of Sebastopol, Todleben.

SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL BALACLAVA AND INKERMAN

The English, French, and Turkish armies landed at Eupatoria, in the Crimea, in September, 1854. Their landing-place was to the north of Sebastopol. The river Alma, which lay between them and the fortress, was held by a Russian army under Menschikov. In the Battle of the Alma (1854) the Russians were defeated and an immediate advance would have taken Sebastopol, whose defences were weak. But St Arnaud refused to move his troops till they had rested, so the opportunity was lost. When an advance was made, the Allies decided to abandon the attack from the north altogether, and to march round to the south of the city. Difficult country had to be negotiated, and this meant a great deal of delay, which gave the Russian commander, Todleben, time to strengthen his defences. As a result Sebastopol withstood the Allied attack for a year.



Gooch

BALACLAVA
The Charge of the Light Brigade

When they moved their army to the south of Sebastopol, the Allies had left no force to blockade it on the north and the Russians were able to send troops and provisions into the fort at will. There could therefore be no attempt to starve out the defenders. The Allied method of attack was the uninspired one of direct assault. The defences of Sebastopol were bombarded with the object of weakening them till they could be stormed and captured. These tactics kept the Allied armies encamped before Sebastopol throughout the long and severe Russian winter, and imposed a heavy strain upon Allied resources in man-power and wealth.

Not were the besiegers themselves immune from attack. Menschikov's army occupied the hilly country in the east of the Crimea, and was able both to harass the Allied armies, and to threaten their communications with their naval base. The British naval base was at Balaclava, and an attempt by Menschikov to seize it resulted in the long and difficult Battle of Balaclava (1854), in which the Allies were victorious only after they had almost suffered defeat. This battle saw the famous charge of the Light Brigade, in which British cavalry, owing to a blunder, charged the Russian batteries, and were saved from complete destruction only by an opportune charge by the French. The blunder arose out of mismanagement of the type that characterised the whole campaign.

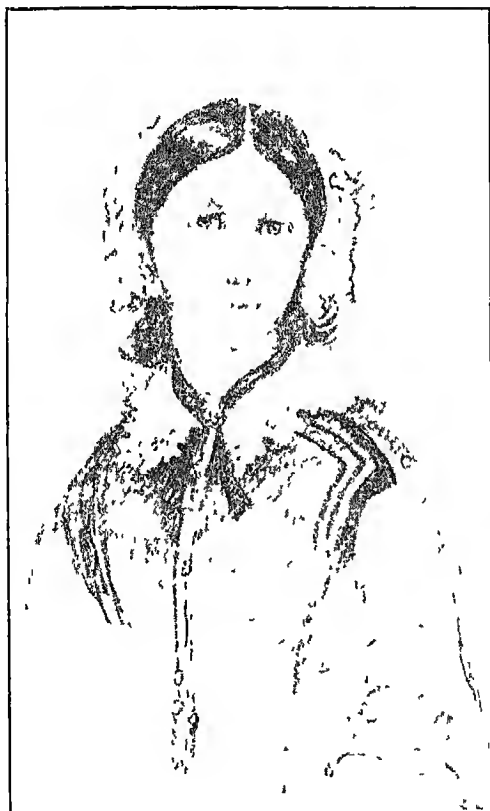
Before the end of the year, Menschikov made another attack on the Allies near Mount Inkerman. The Battle of Inkerman has been nicknamed the "soldiers' battle". A fog prevented the generals from controlling their troops properly, and the issue was decided by the fighting of the ordinary soldiers, dependent upon their own initiative. This second Russian attempt to relieve Sebastopol was defeated, and the siege continued.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The suffering of the troops during the long siege were terrible. Mismanagement at home kept them short of supplies. The bitter winter and the cholera that broke out among them killed more men than the Russians, and threatened to weaken the English forces till they were insufficient for the campaign. At first there was no proper care for the sick and wounded. The hospitals were filthy and overcrowded, and the medical stores

insufficient But before the end of the year (1854) Florence Nightingale offered to go to the Crimea to nurse the wounded, and managed to persuade the War Office to accept her services.

She re-organised the hospitals, introduced cleanliness and fresh air, and saw that the sick and wounded were properly



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

Gooch

nursed The military authorities whose incompetence had caused the abuses she remedied, nevertheless hampered her as much as they could, but she was strong-minded and able to succeed in spite of opposition After the war her influence

led to a permanent reform of the treatment of sick and wounded in the British army

PALMERSTON'S ADMINISTRATION

The English newspapers, which, by inflaming public opinion against Russia, had helped to bring about the war, now did good service in exposing the state of affairs in the Crimea. They denounced the mismanagement of the war both by the government at home and by the generals in command of the army. They made known the lack of supplies, the sufferings of the soldiers, and all the horrors of the campaign. The result was a wave of popular indignation that led to the fall of the Aberdeen ministry (1852-1855). But since the Conservatives could not obtain a majority, the Whigs (Liberals) had to remain in power, and the change was one of ministry, not of party.

The nation had no doubt about whom it wanted for Prime Minister. Palmerston was extraordinarily popular. The nation had tremendous confidence in him, and had enjoyed his high-handed methods of bullying Europe. They believed him to be competent, energetic, and determined to uphold English prestige. So there was a clamour for Palmerston to take control of affairs. He became Prime Minister (1855). Prime Minister he remained save for one brief interval (1858-1859), till his death in 1865.

Palmerston lived up to his reputation. He infused energy into the administration of the war, and the army was soon well supplied with necessities. During the spring (1855) the Allies were joined by Sardinia, whose Prime Minister, Cavour, hoped, by sending troops to the Crimea, to secure Allied support for the cause of Italian unity. But in spite of minor successes, and the defeat of another Russian attack in the Battle of the Tchernaya (1855), the siege of Sebastopol dragged on until September. Then, though a British attack on one of the forts of its defences, the Redan, failed, the French captured another of them, the Malakoff, which commanded the city, and the Russians were at last driven out.

The capture of Sebastopol was in no way decisive, and the war might have continued if the countries concerned had not been weary of it. Nor did it cease immediately, for in Asia Minor the Russians captured the fortress of Kars from the Turks. But the aggressive Nicholas I. had died during the siege, and his

successor, Alexander II, wanted peace. In 1856 the Peace of Paris ended the war.

PEACE OF PARIS AND RESULTS OF THE WAR

By the Peace of Paris (1856) the Allies gained the objects for which they had fought, but the gain was not lasting. Turkey was acknowledged to be an independent power, with whose internal affairs no other nation had the right to interfere, and Russia abandoned her claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were



QUEEN VICTORIA DISTRIBUTING THE CRIMEAN MEDALS

to be self-governing, but under Turkish suzerainty. The Black Sea was declared neutral. No power was to maintain a military or naval establishment on its shores, and only Turkish warships were to be allowed to pass the Dardanelles.

This settlement of the Eastern Question did not prove permanent. It could only last so long as France and Britain were prepared to uphold it by force. It was certain that Turkey would meet with new revolts in the Balkans, and that the Balkan nations would appeal to Russia for help. Actually the Balkan war of the seventies swept aside the Treaty of Paris, and the Eastern Question had to be dealt with again.

But if the Crimean War failed to bring about a settlement of the Eastern Question, it had important and lasting effects upon European relations. It lowered the prestige of France and England, and weakened the Russian government. The Russian despotism had seemed to be very strong. It had remained stable while the revolutionary outbreaks of the first half of the nineteenth century shook the other governments of Europe. Its defeat in the Crimean War led to criticism and dissatisfaction in Russia that was the beginning of popular agitation for reform.

The French successes of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars had caused Europe to fear and respect the fighting power of France, even after she had been defeated. She was, and had been, since the seventeenth century, the foremost military nation in Europe. England was in the first place a sea-power, but, since the Peninsula war and the Waterloo campaign English military prestige had also stood high. The blundering and mismanagement of the Crimean War, the incompetence of the generals, and the old-fashioned equipment and tactics of the armies concerned, lowered French and British prestige. Prussia was emboldened to adopt the policy that ended in the Franco-Prussian war, and Palmerston no longer found it easy to force his policy upon other nations by the threat of British hostility.

CHAPTER XLVII

NATIONAL UNITY AND NEW SYSTEMS OF ALLIANCE

THE VIENNA SETTLEMENT AND ITALY

Except for the establishment of the kingdoms of Greece and Belgium the European system of states had at the end of the Crimean war (1856), remained practically unaltered since the Treaty of Vienna (1814). But during the next fifteen years the Vienna settlement was completely upset by the unification of Italy and Germany. Great Britain had little to do with the events that brought about this change, but it had important effects upon her policy. It was followed by the grouping of European states into rival alliances that brought about the Great War (1914).

The aim of the Congress of Vienna had been to ensure that the great European powers regained about the same amount of territory and influence as they had had before the struggle with Napoleon. Austria had been compensated for the loss of the Austrian Netherlands by the grant of additional territory in Italy. This made her the most important power in the Italian peninsula.

The Vienna settlement left Italy still divided into a number of states. In the north were Lombardy and Venetia, which had been given to Austria, and Piedmont, which formed a part of the kingdom of Sardinia under the rule of the House of Savoy. In central Italy were the states of the Church, ruled over by the Pope, the Grand-duchy of Tuscany, and some other smaller states. In the south was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, ruled by Ferdinand of Bourbon. The government of all these Italian states was despotic, and all the Italian rulers, except the Pope and the King of Sardinia, were under the influence of the Austrian Chancellor, Metternich.

METTERNICH SYSTEM LIBERAL MOVEMENTS

Metternich's system was one of despotism and repression. His object was to stamp out the liberal and nationalist ideals which had spread through Europe after the French Revolution. The re-organisation of Italy by Napoleon had had its effect, and secret societies were formed to work for Italian unity. In 1820 and 1830 there were risings in some of the Italian states. But Austria was always willing to assist the ruler of any Italian state to crush a demand for constitutional government, and Italian liberals and patriots were cruelly repressed. It was not until the "Year of Revolutions" (1848), brought about the fall of Metternich that any real progress towards Italian unity could be made.

This stern repression forced Italian liberalism and nationalism to become secret and revolutionary. Secret societies like the "Carbonari" were formed and Mazzini, whose writings spread the ideal of a united Italy, preached the overthrow of the existing governments and the establishment of a free Italian republic. A programme like this alarmed the moderate liberals who wanted constitutional government, and hoped to find a leader against Austria among the rulers of the Italian states. In 1846 such a leader seemed to have appeared in the person of the new Pope, Pius IX, whose sympathies were liberal and who granted a constitution to the papal states. But Pius had no intention of leading a crusade against Austria. The revolutionary outbreaks of 1848 alarmed him, and he abandoned the Italian liberals altogether.

In 1848 Italy, like the rest of Europe, was swept by a wave of revolution. Constitutions were granted by the rulers of Naples, Tuscany and Piedmont. The Austrians were driven out of Lombardy and Venetia, and Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia and Piedmont, was persuaded to declare war on Austria as the leader of the nationalist movement in Italy. At the same time Mazzini seized Rome and established a republic there.

But the end was disastrous. The Austrian government, temporarily overthrown by revolution in all its provinces, recovered rapidly. The champions of Italian unity were hesitating and disunited. Charles Albert was defeated at Custoza (1848) and Novara (1849), and abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel. Austrian power was restored in Italy and the rulers of the Italian states revoked the constitutions they had granted. In Rome the Pope was restored by the French.

CAVOUR, GARIBALDI, AND VICTOR EMMANUEL

The liberal and national movement had gained a great deal by obtaining the support and leadership of the House of Savoy, the rulers of Sardinia and Piedmont. The new king, Victor Emmanuel, maintained the liberal constitution granted to his subjects by his father, and took Count Cavour for his minister. Cavour was mistrusted by Mazzini and his followers who still



GARIBALDI

aimed at an Italian republic, not a constitutional monarchy, and — whose methods remained revolutionary. But he had the confidence of the moderates in Italy, and outside he used his skilful diplomacy to obtain foreign support for the cause of Italian unity.

Cavour attracted the attention of Europe to his country by sending Sardinian troops to support France and England in the Crimean war. In this way he obtained a chance to air Italian grievances at the peace conference. He was angling for the assistance of the liberal French emperor, Napoleon III, who finally promised him French help if Austria should attack Piedmont (1858). Cavour's next task was to ensure that Piedmont should be attacked by Austria before Napoleon, who was changeable, lost interest in Italy. This required delicate management, but in 1859 his skill was rewarded, Austria declared war on Piedmont. France came to the rescue, and the Austrians were defeated at Magenta and Solferino. Napoleon became the hero of Italy, but he disappointed Italian hopes by suddenly making peace with Austria at Villafranca.

By this peace Austria gave up Lombardy to Victor Emmanuel, but, instead of being driven out of Italy altogether, she retained Venetia. Nevertheless, Austrian influence over the smaller Italian states had been shattered, and the states of central Italy united with Piedmont to form an Italian kingdom (1860). During the same year, a leader of irregular troops, Garibaldi, landed in Sicily with a thousand men, and, with the help of the people of Sicily and Naples, the Bourbon ruler of the kingdom of Naples was driven out. Although Garibaldi had acted on his own initiative, he asked nothing for himself, and Sicily and Naples joined the new Italian kingdom.

Events had moved so rapidly that two years had seen the establishment of united Italy, governed by Victor Emmanuel as a constitutional monarch. But Venetia was still under Austrian rule, and the Papal states remained independent of the Italian kingdom. The Pope was supported by French troops, and Italy was not prepared to challenge France, though Napoleon had lost Italian gratitude for his assistance by demanding the cession of Savoy and Nice in return for it. Relations between France and Italy became cool, and when Italy obtained Venetia from Austria (1866), it was as the ally of Prussia in the Austro-Prussian war. The Franco-Prussian war (1870) caused the withdrawal of the

French troops from Rome, and Victor Emmanuel was able to add the Papal states to his kingdom.

RIVALRY OF AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Germany was divided into more than three hundred independent states, loosely united into the Holy Roman Empire. But the conquests of Napoleon led to re-organisation. The Hapsburg emperor resigned, taking, as ruler of his own territories, most of which lay outside Germany, the title of Emperor of Austria, and the Holy Roman Empire disappeared. Numbers of petty states were abolished and western Germany was united in the Confederation of the Rhine.

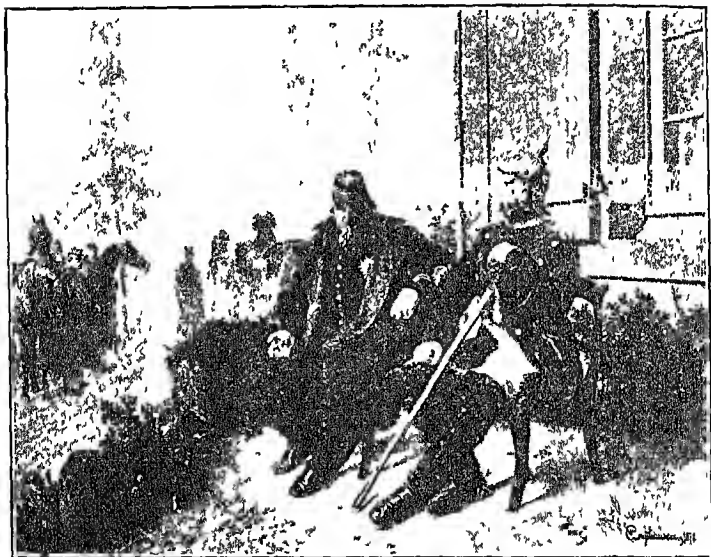
The Congress of Vienna abolished the Rhine Confederation, but it did not restore the little states swept away by Napoleon. It re-divided Germany on the lines that seemed best to it, and the result was a federation of thirty-nine independent states. Two of these, Austria and Prussia, were European "great powers." They were so much more important than the other German states that one or the other of them was certain some day to become predominant in Germany. So the struggle for the unification of Germany was also a struggle for leadership between Prussia and Austria.

Until her position had been weakened by the revolutions of 1848, Austria was the leading power in Germany. But under Austrian leadership Germany could never have become a nation, for the Austrian empire was a patch work of states of different nationalities. Even during the period of Austrian influence Prussia was gradually paving the way for German unity under her own leadership by inducing the German states to join her customs union, the "Zollverein."

THE GERMAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Prussia was a military state, and her government was as despotic as that of Austria. But it was an enlightened despotism, which secured the support of its subjects by efficient government and by necessary reforms. Its statesmen spread Prussian influence through the German states by means of the Zollverein, and a nationalist movement for German unity under Prussian

leadership developed. In 1848, the "year of revolutions," this movement came to a head. A German Parliament was set up at Frankfurt and the King of Prussia was invited to become German emperor. But Frederick William IV of Prussia was not equal to the task of uniting Germany, and he refused the German crown. The nationalist movement lost its force, the revolutions that had broken out in Germany and Austria were crushed, and Austria seemed once more to be supreme in Germany.



NAPOLÉON III AND BISMARCK

The failure of the revolutionary movements of 1848 left the German governments as despotic as before. But a strong liberal party existed in Prussia, and its victory in the elections of 1861 threatened to force the new king, William, to make his ministers responsible to Parliament. The new Prussian king, though not brilliant, was obstinate, clear-minded, and strongly opposed to Liberalism. He took the risk of ignoring the popular demand and appointing Count Bismarck as his chief minister. Bismarck restored the authority of the government, and Prussia maintained her traditional character as a despotic, military state.

THE SEVEN WEEKS' WAR UNION OF GERMANY

Bismarck next undertook the task of uniting Germany under Prussian leadership. He saw that Austria was much less strong than she appeared to be, while the Prussian army had been developed by men like Roon and Moltke into the most efficient military force in Europe. Bismarck's object was to pick a quarrel with Austria in order to defeat and humiliate her. To do this he took the roundabout method of uniting with Austria in taking the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein from Denmark.

These duchies, of which Schleswig was peopled by Danes and Holstein by Germans, were under the rule of the Danish king, but were not a part of Denmark. When the King of Denmark died the succession to the duchies was disputed, and Prussia and Austria interfered, demanding the duchies from Denmark on behalf of a German claimant. Palmerston had led Denmark to expect British support, but it was not given and the duchies fell under Austrian and Prussian control (1864). Bismarck then found it easy to quarrel with Austria over their fate, and in the Austro-Prussian war (1866), which lasted only a few weeks, Austria was beaten at Sadowa.

In this war Prussia had Italian support and Austria was forced to give up Venetia to Italy. More important was her loss of prestige in Germany, which led the northern states of Germany to unite in the North German Confederation under Prussian leadership.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

England's attitude towards the Prussian success was a friendly one, but France saw with alarm the prospect of a united Germany on her borders. She had missed the opportunity of checking Prussia by supporting Austria, and she now made it her business to oppose Bismarck's policy of persuading the south German states to join a united Germany. But Napoleon III made the mistake of suggesting to Bismarck that France should cease to oppose Prussian control of southern Germany in return for an extension of the French frontier to the Rhine. By publishing these proposals and his refusal of them, Bismarck was able to appear as the champion of German unity, and to cause the south German states and the European powers to mistrust Napoleon

He then consolidated his position in Germany by alliances with the south German states and prepared for the war with France that was necessary before Germany could be united.

In 1870 a quarrel between France and Prussia arose over the succession to the Spanish throne. France was eager for war, and Bismarck managed to inflict the provocation of a diplomatic insult upon her. In the Franco-Prussian war (1870-1), France was defeated with astonishing speed and completeness, the Prussians winning a crushing victory at Sedan (1870). The defeat of France was followed by the union of Germany. The south German states joined the German Confederation, and the king of Prussia became Emperor of the Germans (1871). But Bismarck, with less than his usual wisdom, paved the way for another war by taking Alsace-Lorraine from France.

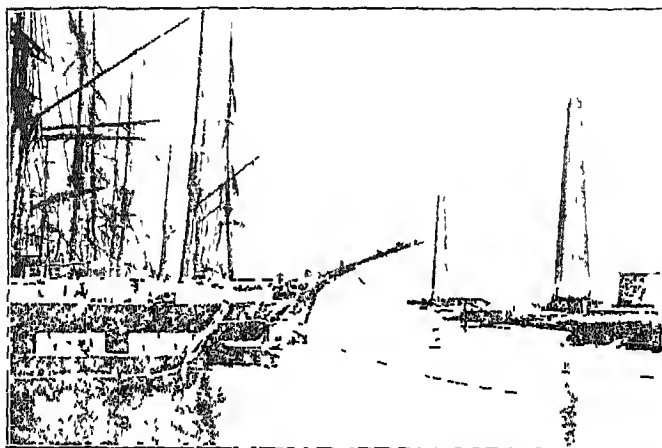
RE-OPENING OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

Bismarck had unified Germany by a series of wars, but, after the defeat of France, he needed a period of peace in which to consolidate the new German empire. So, in the "Three Emperors' League," he negotiated a friendly understanding with Russia and Austria-Hungary, as an insurance against possible hostility from France. There the Franco-Prussian war had led to the fall of Napoleon III and the establishment of the Third Republic. Then, during the seventies, Germany ceased to play a leading part in Europe, and the disturbing force in European politics became Russia. Her interference in the Balkans made a new settlement of the Eastern Question necessary.

Failure in the Crimean war had forced Russia to abandon her claim to protect the Christian subjects of Turkey, and to agree to the exclusion of her navy from the Black Sea. But Alexander II had no intention of accepting this settlement as final. In 1871 he quietly refused to consider the Black Sea as neutral. He found a new pretext for interfering in the Balkans by encouraging "Pan-Slavism," the movement for the freedom and unity of the Slav races of Europe. This movement was, like the struggles for Italian and German unity, caused by the nationalist ideals which played such an important part in nineteenth century Europe. Russia now became the champion of the Slav nations in the Balkans in their struggle for independence.

THE BULGARIAN MASSACRE AND BALKAN WAR

Greece was already independent, and Serbia, Rumania, and Montenegro were partly so, but the rest of the Balkans were still completely under Turkish control. Turkish rule was weak and inefficient, and taxation heavy. In 1875 risings occurred in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were followed by a revolt of the Bulgars. The Turks put down the Bulgarian revolt without much difficulty, and punished it by a massacre of about twelve thousand people. Public opinion in Europe was shocked, and



ENTRANCE TO THE SUEZ CANAL

The canal was opened in 1869. In 1875, Disraeli purchased the Khedive's shares in the canal on behalf of England.

in the Balkans, the warlike Serbs and Montenegrins now made war upon Turkey (1876).

This Balkan war presented Great Britain with her old problem of checking the advance of Russia towards Constantinople. After the Crimean war England had not played an important part in European affairs. Palmerston had proved less successful in bullying European states than in his earlier days. He had led the Poles in their revolt against Russia (1863), and the Danes, during the Schleswig-Holstein dispute (1864), to expect British support, which had not been given. The result had been to persuade the European powers that British wishes

could safely be ignored. This opinion was strengthened when Gladstone's government made no protest when Russian warships, in defiance of the Treaty of Paris (1856), once more appeared on the Black Sea (1871)

But Disraeli (1874-1880), who became Lord Beaconsfield in 1876, was Prime Minister at the time of the Bulgarian atrocities and the Balkan war, and he was ready to adopt an energetic foreign policy. Beaconsfield's imagination was attracted by the East, and by the British dominions in India. In 1875 he had protected the route to India by buying the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal, and he was convinced of the danger of Russian control of Constantinople. Like most British statesmen of the nineteenth century he regarded support of the Turks as the best means of checking Russia.

Disraeli's rival, Gladstone, took another view of the situation. He maintained that Russia could be effectively checked by the establishment of independent states in the Balkans, which would be too jealous for their own freedom to fall under Russian influence. The Bulgarian massacres led Gladstone to demand the expulsion of the Turks, but Beaconsfield did not permit them to affect his policy. He argued that the seriousness of the outrage had been exaggerated and that Turkish government was much better than it was represented to be.

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION TREATY OF SAN STEFANO

Beaconsfield made it clear that England was hostile to Russian interference in the Balkan war (1876). It was not till 1877, when a European conference had failed and the Serbians were in danger of being crushed by the Turks, that Alexander II went to the rescue. Except for a check provided by the stubborn defence of Plevna, Russian success was easy and rapid. Adrianople was captured and the Russians advanced within sight of Constantinople. Turkey asked for peace, and Beaconsfield interfered by ordering a British fleet to Constantinople. This move, by threatening a war between England and Russia, for which Russia lacked the resources, made it certain that the Russians would not seize the city. Without attempting to enter Constantinople, the Russians concluded the Peace of San Stefano with Turkey (1878).

The Treaty of San Stefano added to the independence of Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, and created a large Bulgarian state to the south of Serbia and Rumania. Russia's object was to increase her own influence, for she expected the new state would submit to her guidance. Beaconsfield expected the same thing, and demanded the revision of the whole treaty by a European Congress.

THE CONGRESS AND TREATY OF BERLIN

This Congress met at Berlin (1878), where Bismarck, explaining that Germany was impartial, offered to act as an



DISRAELI AND BISMARCK AT THE BERLIN CONFERENCE, 1878
A Conversation at the Kaiserhof Hotel

"honest broker" between the other powers. Great Britain was represented by Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury, but the real work of the Congress had already been done in secret negotiations between Britain and the other powers. Rather ironically, the agreement between Britain and Russia got into the newspapers before the questions which it settled had been discussed by the Congress, which was supposed to decide them.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878) divided the new Bulgarian state, created by the San Stefano treaty, into three parts. Macedonia,

which was given back to Turkey, and Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia, which were almost independent. At the same time Bosnia and Herzegovina, which adjoined Austro-Hungarian territory, and where the rebellion that led to the Bulgarian massacre had begun, were removed from Turkish control, and Austria-Hungary was permitted to occupy and administer them. Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania became completely independent. To counterbalance a Russian advance in Asia Minor, Britain obtained the right to administer Cyprus, in return for a promise to support Turkey if Russia should make war upon her. At the same time Turkey promised to reform.

The Treaty of Berlin was a diplomatic victory for Great Britain. She had managed, without going to war, to alter the San Stefano settlement of the Balkans, and to checkmate Russia. Beaconsfield claimed that he had secured "peace with honour," and the settlement was enthusiastically received in England. But the achievement was less brilliant than at first appeared. Events suggested that the large Bulgarian state of the San Stefano treaty would not have proved a centre of Russian influence in the Balkans, for the Bulgarians showed themselves hostile to Russian interference. When, in 1885, they upset the Berlin settlement by a union with Eastern Roumelia, the state invented by that treaty, England did not interfere. Cyprus did not prove the "key to Western Asia" that Beaconsfield expected. Also England stood committed to support a Turkey that steadily evaded all efforts to make her reform. Turkish misgovernment constantly led to trouble in Macedonia, and the Balkans remained a centre of unrest.

BISMARCK'S SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES

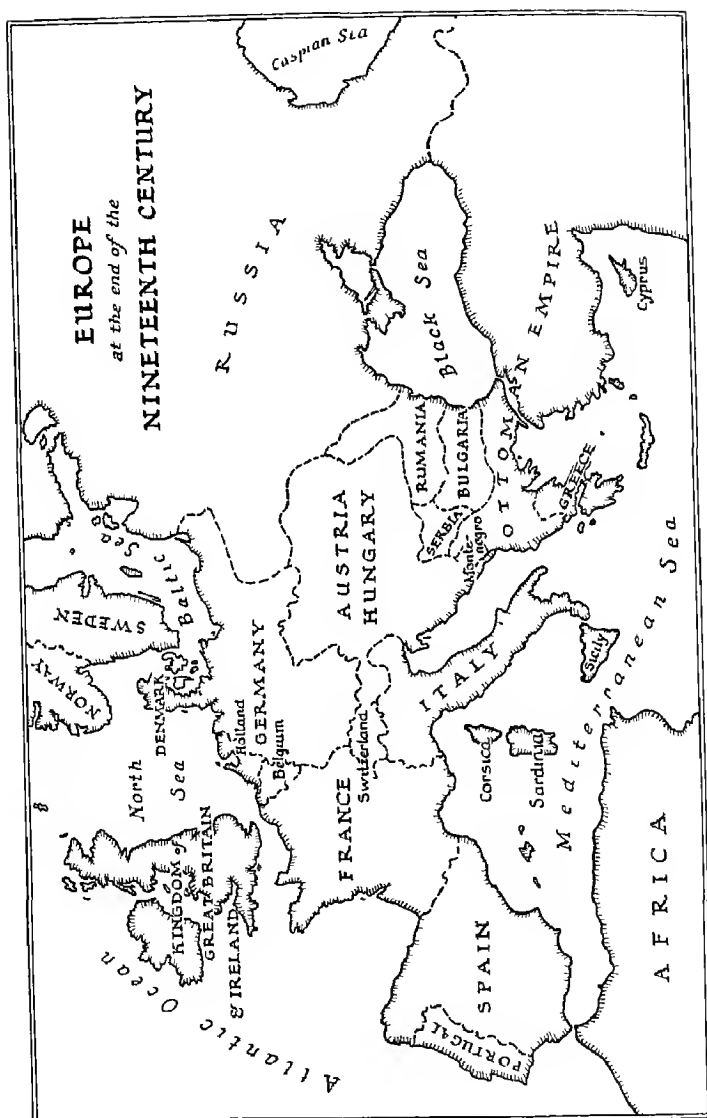
When France had been defeated in 1871, Bismarck annexed Alsace-Lorraine. This made the determination of France to recover these provinces a cause of permanent hostility between France and Germany. Bismarck's method of guarding against French hostility was to make alliances with other European powers. This policy led first to the establishment of a system of European alliances with Germany for its centre, and France and England left out. Then, after Bismarck's fall, France too began to seek allies, and two rival alliances developed, leading in the end to the outbreak of the Great War (1914).

In 1875 Germany, Russia, and Austria-Hungary had been loosely associated in the "Three Emperors' League." But Russia and Austria were rivals in the Balkans, and it was difficult for Germany to retain her friendship with both of them. Russia accused Bismarck of supporting Austrian interests at the Congress of Berlin (1878), and Germany gradually drew closer to Austria, while her friendship with Russia weakened. In 1879 Germany and Austria arranged a Dual Alliance. In 1882 they were joined by Italy, who had quarrelled with France over Tripoli, in a Triple Alliance. Meanwhile, though friendship with Russia had cooled, Bismarck skilfully managed to retain it, and even to strengthen it by what was nicknamed the "Reinsurance Treaty" of 1887. Relations between Germany and England were friendly and France was completely isolated.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND TRIPLE ENTENTE

To keep himself in such a favourable position as to retain the friendship of Europe, was a task that strained even Bismarck's ingenuity. In the end his juggling failed to keep the friendship both of Austria and Russia, and Russia began to draw away from Germany. After the accession of Emperor William II (1888), and the fall of Bismarck (1890), the breach became complete. Russia, now isolated in Europe, formed an alliance with France (1896). Instead of one system of alliances, with Germany for its centre, there were now two hostile systems in Europe: the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the new alliance of France and Russia.

Great Britain stood outside both alliances, still maintaining the policy of standing apart from European engagements that had been begun by Canning. In the eighties her relations with Germany had been friendly and those with France strained by colonial rivalry. But William II of Germany, though his policy was variable, and at times friendly to England, had an unfortunate tendency to antagonise English public opinion. He sent a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger at the time of the Jameson raid (1896). During the Boer War, though the German government remained neutral, German feeling was strongly on the side of the Boers. In 1897 the Germans began the building of a large navy, which was felt to be a threat to British sea-power. In 1899 they undertook the construction of the Berlin-Bagdad



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railway This threatened to spread German influence over Turkey, which was as unwelcome to Britain as Russian interference there

While British relations with Germany were becoming less friendly France was abandoning her rivalry with Britain in Africa, and deliberately adopting a friendly policy The result was the end of the traditional English policy of isolation, and in 1904 the Anglo-French Entente was formed This was followed in 1907 by an Anglo-Russian treaty From this time the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was faced by the Triple Entente of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

CHAPTER XLVIII

BEYOND EUROPE

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA

One of the most interesting developments with which modern history is concerned is the spread of European ideas, people, and influence. Africa has been partitioned between the European nations, and the Americas and Australia have been colonised. Russia has pushed across northern Asia to the Pacific. England has conquered India. European influence has spread over the Near and Far East. European history has become world history. Nevertheless, large sections of the world, America under the leadership of the United States, and the Far East, always hostile to European interference, stand apart, and their history, though closely connected with that of Europe has a more independent course.

The modern American nations are of European origin. From its discovery at the end of the fifteenth century America was regarded as a fair field for settlement and exploitation by the rival powers of Europe. Spain conquered Mexico, and accepted the Pope's division of South America between herself and Portugal. England planted a line of colonies along the east coast of North America. France established herself in Canada and Louisiana, to the north and south of the English, and put forward a shadowy claim to the interior of the North American Continent.

In South America England and Spain quarrelled over trade with Spanish America. In North America French and English colonial rivalry ended in open war. Canada and Eastern Louisiana passed into the possession of England, Western Louisiana was given up to Spain, and the French left America altogether. But, having got rid of their French rivals, the English found their supremacy in North America challenged by their own colonists.

It had always been understood by the European nations that the object of planting colonies was to increase the trade and wealth of the mother-country and that colonial trade and

administration were to be regulated for its benefit, rather than for that of the colonists. The American War of Independence (1775-1783) was the first serious challenge to this doctrine. It showed the determination of the colonies to become independent communities and to manage their own affairs without interference from Europe.

USA AND THE WAR OF 1812

The British colonies, which, as the United States of America, had their independence recognised in 1783, were very different in size and importance from the United States of to-day. Then as now, their organisation was federal. Each state had its own government and managed most of its own affairs, but there was also a central government with authority in certain matters over all the states. At first the central government was weak and there was little feeling of common nationality.

The territory of the States extended only as far west as the Mississippi. Neither Spain, which held Louisiana on their western border, nor England, which still retained Canada in the north, was friendly to them. Spain closed the Mississippi to their ships, and England forbade them to import goods into their most important market, the British West Indies, except in British ships. Nor did England seem to have lost by granting independence to her colonies. During the colonial period, American manufactures had been so completely crushed to prevent competition with British ones that the Americans were still obliged to import most of their manufactured goods from Britain, and British trade with them increased.

But, though trade between England and the United States flourished, feeling between the two countries was unfriendly. During the Napoleonic war the Americans bitterly resented the British claim to search American ships for contraband or for British seamen who were attempting to escape service in the navy. In 1812 they declared war on Britain, but the New England states, whose trade was injured by the quarrel, were unenthusiastic, and their lukewarmness probably saved Canada. The danger to Canada was the most serious aspect of the war. Otherwise it took the form of minor engagements at sea and British raids on the American coast, in one of which the American public buildings in their new capital, Washington, were burnt.

THE CANADIAN BOUNDARY DISPUTES

The war was ended by the Treaty of Ghent (1814). Since the question of Britain's right to search neutral ships in wartime remained undecided, its only results had been to injure American trade, and to leave the two countries hostile to each other. The need for a settlement of the boundary between Canada and the United States seemed to provide plenty of material for future quarrels. Fortunately these were avoided by the statesmanship of Castlereagh and Peel.

When the Americans obtained their independence, the Great Lakes provided a natural boundary between the United States and Canada. But when Canadians and Americans moved westwards across the Continent, no natural boundary existed, and an artificial one had to be agreed upon. In 1803 the United States purchased Western Louisiana, the territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, from Napoleon, who had received it from Spain. In 1818 therefore Castlereagh negotiated a settlement by which the boundary from the Great Lakes as far west as the Rockies was to run along the forty-ninth degree of latitude.

The rights of British and Americans in the region between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, known as Oregon, remained undefined. When settlers penetrated the Oregon country another dispute arose. The Americans claimed the whole Pacific coast, as far north as Alaska, and threatened war if this was refused. But only a minority of them was really anxious to fight, and Peel was able to negotiate the Oregon treaty (1846). By this the boundary between the States and Canada continued to run along the forty-ninth degree of latitude as far as the Pacific.

SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

Although they were ready to quarrel with each other about the Canadian boundary, Britain and the United States adopted a similar policy with regard to Central and South America. There they supported the struggle of the Spanish colonies for independence, and opposed European intervention. The revolt of the Spanish colonies began when Spain fell under Napoleon's control, and it was favoured by the disorder of the Spanish

government restored after Napoleon's fall. It was natural that Britain should support the revolt. She had been struggling against Spanish restriction of her trade with Spanish America since the days of Elizabeth, and she now saw a chance of getting rid of the Spaniards altogether.

British ships maintained communications between the scattered colonies. A British officer, Cochrane, commanded the rebel fleet off the Chilean coast, and troops were sent to support Bolivar, the "Liberator" of the northern colonies. When the European powers permitted the French to interfere to restore order in Spain itself, Canning announced that if French interference were extended to the revolted Spanish colonies, it would be prevented by the British fleet (1823). In 1824 he officially recognised the independence of the South American states.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Canning's action made the independence of South America secure, though the quagmiresomeness and political instability of the new republics did not suggest that the removal of Spanish authority had been an unmixed benefit. The South American states became an increasingly important field for British trade and for the investment of British capital. It was therefore to the interest of Britain to check the interference of other European nations in America.

But the British themselves were not altogether pleased when, at the time of Canning's warning to France, the United States affirmed American independence of Europe and their own leadership of America. This declaration was contained in a message sent by President Monroe to Congress (1823). By the "Monroe doctrine" the United States was pledged neither to interfere in European affairs nor to permit further European colonisation or interference in America. This has formed the basis of their later policy, though even before the Great War, the United States was being drawn into world politics. It is the logical basis of their refusal in 1919 to enter the League of Nations.

Although the existing rights of European nations in America were not challenged by the Monroe doctrine, it added complications and difficulties to the position of Great Britain as an American power. Various disputes have arisen between Britain

and the United States, but, like the Canadian boundary question, these have been peacefully settled. Anglo-American relations have been a valuable example of the possibility of settling international quarrels without resorting to war.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR

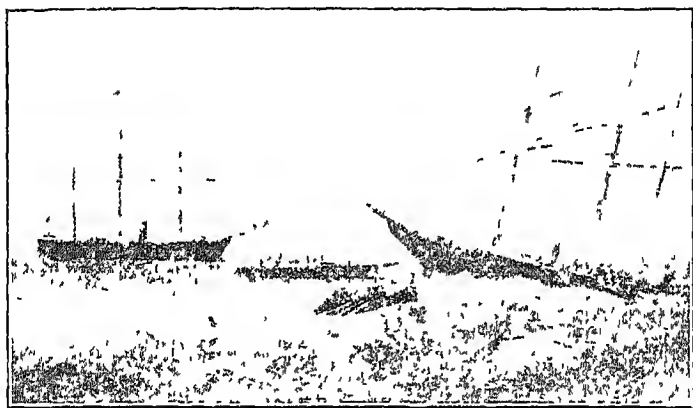
Rapid development had made it possible for the United States to claim the leadership of America, but their own existence as a nation was threatened by the quarrel between the Northern and Southern states over the question of slavery. In the south the white people lived as a slave-owning aristocracy on plantations worked by negroes. They despised the northerners, who worked their own land. But the quarrel over slavery did not arise over its existence in the original colonies, but over its extension to new states, which were established as the Americans pushed farther into the west. The root of the dispute was not slavery itself, but whether the South or the North was to dominate the Union and to form the model on which life in the new western states was to be based.

In 1860 the question of slavery had come into the forefront of American politics, and it was the issue over which the presidential election was fought. The election of Abraham Lincoln as President was a victory for the North, but the South refused to accept it, and broke away from the Union, forming a separate Confederation. The North denied their right to do this, treating them as rebels, and the Civil War (1860-1865) began.

The American Civil War led to unemployment in the cotton manufacturing district of Lancashire, for raw cotton was obtained from the southern states. Finally the lack of American cotton, due to the Northern blockade of Confederate shipping, was made good by cotton from India. In spite of unemployment, the English working classes sympathised with the Northern states, whose opposition to slavery they approved. The sympathy of the English ruling classes, who liked the aristocratic Southerners, was with the Southern Confederation. When some Confederate envoys to Britain were taken off a British ship, the "Trent," by the Northerners (1861), public opinion in England was inflamed almost to the point of war.

Lincoln and Russell managed to keep the peace, but the English government was certainly Confederate in its preferences.

In 1862 its negligence permitted the Confederate privateer "Alabama" to escape from Liverpool. The "Alabama" did a great deal of damage to the shipping of the Northern States. When the war ended in a Northern victory, which preserved American unity, then resentment of British hostility led to exaggerated demands for compensation. The "Alabama" dispute, which dragged on till 1872, caused much ill-feeling between Britain and America. Finally Gladstone referred the American claims to an international court, and paid the amount of compensation there decided on.

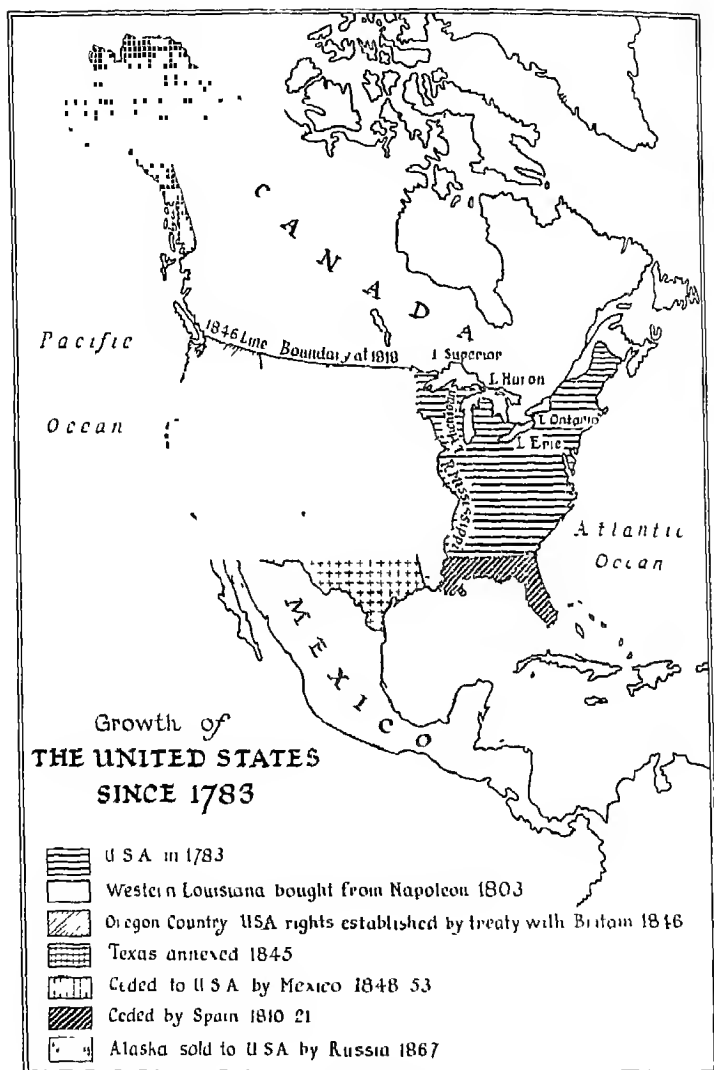


ACTION BETWEEN THE KEARSARGE AND ALABAMA
(Rescue of the Crew of the Alabama by the Deerhound)

ANGLO-AMERICAN DISPUTES

In spite of American determination to stand politically apart from Europe, streams of Europeans were constantly settling in the United States. Their population grew with enormous rapidity, spreading across the Continent, and their wealth and manufactures developed quickly.

In the eighties and nineties friction with Canada, and so with Britain, frequently arose over tariffs. In 1895 the United States interfered in a dispute concerning the border between Venezuela and British Guiana in South America. They interpreted the Monroe doctrine as a claim to decide all American questions. Britain, under Lord Salisbury, refused to acknowledge the right



DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BETWEEN 1783 AND 1867

of the United States to control American affairs, and President Cleveland declared that he would go to war to maintain it. But in the end Salisbury persuaded the Americans to accept a settlement by arbitration, and war was again avoided.

AMERICA IN WORLD POLITICS

From this time relations between Britain and the United States became more friendly. When the States engaged in war with Spain (1898) British sympathies were on their side. With this war began a period during which the Americans were drawn more and more into world politics. They found it increasingly difficult to continue the policy of American isolation from Europe laid down in the Monroe doctrine.

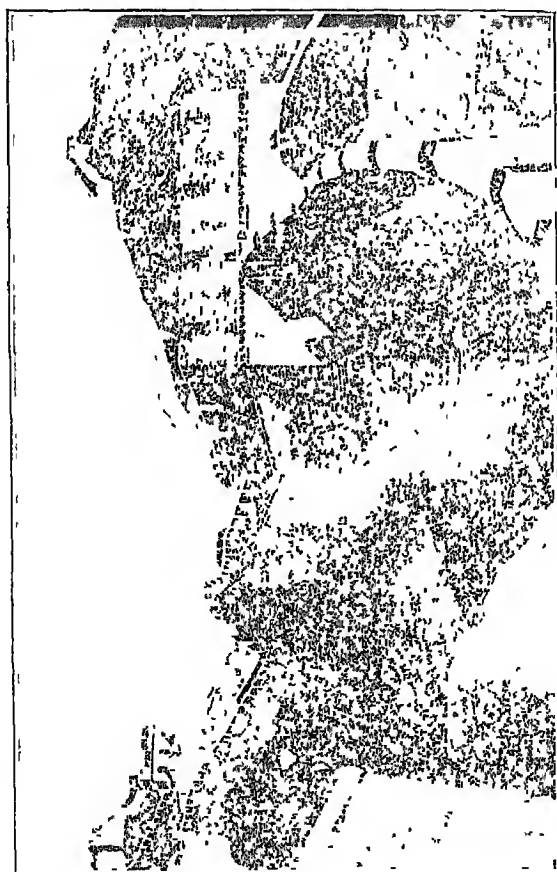
By obtaining the Philippine Islands from Spain, the United States acquired a stake in the Far East. They found it difficult to avoid entanglement in the affairs of the European powers, who had interests there. By 1900 America was taking part in an international expedition to put down the Boxer rebellion in China. But the States still made a determined effort to stand apart from European affairs, and this adherence to their traditional policy lay at the root of their reluctance to enter the Great War. Again they found a policy of isolation impossible, because of German submarine attacks on their shipping. But when the war was over, they refused to enter the League of Nations, and once more attempted to isolate America from Europe.

THE CHINESE

The Far East had been visited by Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and its luxuries had, throughout the Middle Ages, reached Europe by way of the caravan routes of Asia, the Mediterranean, and the Italian ports. Yet it had remained legendary and almost inaccessible till the discovery of the sea-route to India, and thence to China, in the fifteenth century. Even after this Europeans were slow to obtain a footing there, and the spread of western ideas in the Far East is a recent development.

As early as 1672 the East India Company had begun to trade with the port of Canton in China. But the Chinese did not welcome Europeans, and trade with them was conducted only on sufferance and with many restrictions. Cut off from the rest

of the world by the Pacific on one side, and on the other by high mountains and wide plains inhabited by wandering hordes of Mongol horsemen, the Chinese had very early reached an advanced stage of civilisation. They were a peaceable,



Wide World Photos

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

Built about 200 B.C. for the defence of North China against barbarians from Central Asia

industrious and very numerous people, most of whom were farmers. They were also successful in industry and commerce, and possessed great artistic skill. Respect for the past and for the traditions of their ancestors made them opposed to change.

Looking back on thousands of years of civilisation, the

Chinese despised foreigners as barbarians, and thus was one of the causes of their hostility to Europeans. But they were an unwelcome race with a contempt for soldiers and fighting. When, in the nineteenth century, Europeans began to use force to gain an entry into China, the Chinese had no effective means of defence. Since then they have proved to be at the mercy of nations which have chosen to seize their provinces and to exploit their resources.

PALMERSTON AND THE CHINESE WARS

Britain was the first European power to obtain control of a Chinese port. Chinese restrictions annoyed British merchants, especially as the Chinese government made spasmodic efforts to check the trade in opium, which was imported to China from India, and which was very profitable. When, in 1839, the Chinese authorities seized a cargo of Indian opium, Palmerston sent an expeditionary force to China, and the Canton river was blockaded. The Chinese were forced to pay compensation and to hand over the port of Hong-Kong to the British.

This Chinese war was disreputable, since it was undertaken to force China to admit a harmful drug. It was followed by the opening of several Chinese ports, of which Shanghai was the principal one, to European trade. The Europeans had found a new field for their rivalry and ambitions, and they had also discovered that China was weak, and could be coerced and bullied with impunity. The French found a pretext for interfering in Chinese affairs by claiming the right to protect Catholic missionaries and their converts in China. They also seized outlying Chinese dependencies in Indo-China. The Russians, who had been pushing their way across northern Asia, added eastern Siberia to their dominions and became neighbours of China, from which they took the Amur province.

In China itself Europeans were very jealous of their prestige and privileges, and inclined to insist upon them to an exaggerated extent. In 1858 Palmerston again sent a military expedition to China. Chinese officials had taken one of their own countrymen, who was accused of piracy, off a ship, the "Arrow," that had been licensed to fly the British flag, and the Chinese authorities were forced to apologise. In all their relations, the Europeans regarded the Chinese as an inferior people, and China as a

country to be exploited and brought under European influence. The result was that the Chinese, though unable to resist, continued to regard foreigners as enemies and to desire to exclude them.

SINO-JAPANESE WAR EUROPEAN INTERFERENCE

But it was not only the Europeans who threatened China. The Japanese were a race whose civilisation was similar to that of China, but unlike the Chinese they were warlike and aggressive. Though their country was comparatively small, Europeans found it impossible to exploit them as they did the Chinese. The Japs showed themselves amazingly ready to learn from Europe, and managed, in less than a century, to transform their country from something very like the feudalism of medieval Europe into a centralised modern state, and to build up an army and navy on European lines. They were then, like the European powers, eager to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the weakness of China.

In 1895 they made war on China and were completely successful. They forced the Chinese to give them territory in Manchuria with the valuable harbour of Port Arthur, as well as other concessions. But the European powers did not approve of this Japanese entry into their game of exploiting China. Russia, France, and Germany united in putting the new Eastern power in her place by forcing her to give up Port Arthur and her footing in Manchuria. Japan was forced to obey, but resentment of this humiliation had a strong effect on her later policy. The fact that Britain had not acted with the other powers was the foundation of the later Anglo-Japanese friendship.

The Europeans themselves then began the same policy of seizing Chinese ports they had forced Japan to abandon. The lead was taken by Germany, who had begun to increase her navy, and wanted to establish a naval base in China that would extend her influence as a sea-power to the Far East. In 1897 the Germans seized Kiao-chau. In the next year, Russia, whose Pacific port, Vladivostock, was frozen up during part of the year, and who wanted a warm-water harbour in the East, seized Port Arthur, which had been refused to Japan. To equalise matters Britain and France then took possession of Wei-Hai-Wei and Kwang-chowan.

THE BOXER REBELLION

So many Chinese ports were passing under European control that the United States began to fear for the security of American trade with China. Secretary Hay demanded that the policy of the "open-door" should be observed. This meant that no power should try, by imposing tariffs, to keep other nations from trading with a Chinese port that it held.

Meanwhile the Chinese themselves were beginning to fear that their whole country would fall under European domination. The European nations had marked out spheres of influence for themselves in China—the English one being the Yangtze valley—in which they endeavoured to control trade and to develop natural resources. The Chinese formed societies hostile to foreigners, the most important of which the English nicknamed the "Boxers." The anti-foreign movement showed itself at first in riots and in the murder of traders and missionaries. But in 1900 there was a serious outbreak, the German consul was murdered, and the foreign legations were besieged in the Chinese capital, Peking.

The position of the Boxers was very difficult to define. Though the Chinese government shared their eagerness to be rid of foreigners, and secretly encouraged them, fear of European power led it to pretend to regard them as rebels. It was evident that the Boxer Rebellion threatened the position of European powers in China, so they abandoned their rivalry for a time. With American and Japanese support, they sent an expedition, under the leadership of a German, Count Waldersee, to the relief of the legations in Peking. The Boxers were repressed, indemnities and guarantees were extracted, and European prestige was restored. The work was carried out with unnecessary brutality, and atrocities were committed that helped to keep hostility between Europe and Asia alive.

THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

In 1902 England and Japan made an alliance with each other. This was a startling development, for it meant the abandonment of the traditional British policy of isolation that had been followed since the days of Canning. The two countries shared a

common fear of the extension of Russian power in Asia. England suspected Russian designs on India, and Japan was jealous of Russian control of Port Arthur, and influence in Manchuria, the province to the north of China. Japan intended to make war on Russia, and the alliance made her able to rely on British neutrality, and on British support if any other power should interfere. This alliance was continued till 1921.

Japan's object in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) was to obtain Port Arthur and to become the dominating influence in Manchuria. The contest appeared very unequal, and would have been so if Russian resources had been better mobilised, or if the struggle had been prolonged. Japan understood the situation perfectly, and won a victory by rapid action and superior efficiency. She obtained Port Arthur and the concessions in Manchuria that China had been forced to grant to Russia. But the great importance of the victory was to demonstrate that a native power had arisen in the Far East that could check European predominance there, as the United States had done in America. It was evident that Japan had become a first-class power, and an aggressive one.

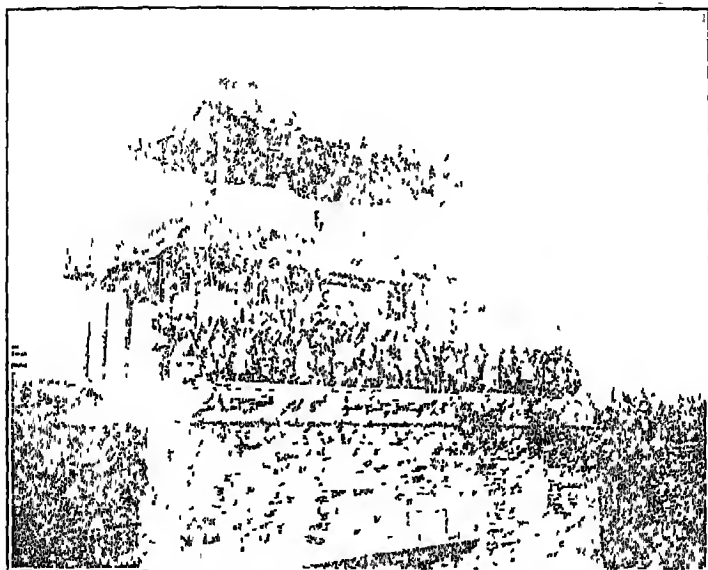
THE CHINESE REPUBLIC AND JAPANESE POLICY

Meanwhile European influence was penetrating China in a new fashion. Chinese students studied at American and European universities and acquired European political ideas that led them to criticise the inefficient Chinese government. The rulers of China were the descendants of foreign conquerors, the Manchus, and in 1911 the Chinese, led by Sun-Yat-Sen, revolted, drove them out, and established a republic.

But the foundations of the new system were very unstable. Student enthusiasm for republican government had not penetrated the masses and was almost entirely confined to the south of China. The north clung to the old ideas, and a northerner, Yuan-Shih-Kai, who became President, soon began to turn the republic into a military dictatorship. The result was a rebellion of the genuine republicans in the south. Civil war broke out and has continued, China, being torn by the struggles of different "war-lords" and their armies. Nevertheless, western ideas have continued to spread, the old system seems to

be breaking up, and China is one of the countries that have entered on a period of development

Chinese disorder provided Japan with an opportunity for exploitation of China especially while the European powers were engaged in the Great War (1914-1918) She seized the port of Kiao-chau, which had been held by Germany, and forced China to grant her many concessions In 1932 she embarked on a



Sport and General Press Agency

SINO-JAPANESE WAR IN MANCHURIA OCCUPATION OF CHINCHOW

Soldiers of the Nakajima Infantry Regt shouting "Banzai" when they reached the main gates of the Castle of Chinchow, 1932

military occupation of the province of Manchuria, where her influence had superseded that of Russia after the Russo-Japanese war She now cut the Provinces off from China by establishing an independent government there The refusal of the League of Nations to agree to this policy led Japan to withdraw from the League (1933) She has shown her determination to become the dominant power in the Far East, and to oppose European control

CHAPTER XLIX

IRELAND AFTER THE UNION

THE IRISH PROBLEM

Ireland was one of the most difficult problems of British statesmen during the nineteenth century. The root of the trouble lay in the miserable condition of the Irish people, most of whom depended for food on the farms they cultivated. The country was poor and over-populated. The Irish peasant-farmers lived principally on potatoes, and any failure of the crops was followed by starvation. The Irish had no resources to fall back on, for their farms were too small to do more than support the family that worked them. Rents were high, and a tenth of the produce of the land was paid to the Irish Church as a tithe.

As a result of the plantations of Ireland with English settlers, carried out in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most Irish estates were in the hands of a Protestant ruling class. The landowners had little in common with their Catholic tenants, and often lived in England, leaving agents to manage estates and tenantry. High rents were extorted, and the peasant-farmer who was evicted for non-payment was in danger of starvation. The result of this miserable and precarious existence was to leave the Irish peasants hostile to their landlords. They were ready to commit local outrages, and to become enthusiastic followers of any leader who promised to do something to better their condition.

The Irish problem also had its political and religious aspects. The movement for Irish independence had been begun by Grattan in the eighteenth century. The Act of Union (1800), which took away that independence altogether, by abolishing the Irish Parliament and giving Ireland representation in the English one, was a settlement forced on Ireland by Pitt. The Act had been passed through the Irish Parliament only by the use of bribery and political management, and the Irish themselves had no love for it. So it was easy to predict that discontent in Ireland would probably lead to a demand for its repeal.

In the eighteenth century hostility between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland had seemed to be dying out, and Grattan's demand for independence had had the support of both. But the refusal of Parliamentary representation to Catholics had revived their resentment of control by a Protestant minority. Catholic revolts and intrigues with France had alarmed the Protestants. The British disarming of the Ulster Catholics with Protestant aid had ended in atrocities on both sides, and the situation in Ireland was once more complicated by religious feuds.



AN EVICTION IN THE WEST OF IRELAND, 1881

Goach

English statesmen certainly regarded the Union as a permanent settlement of the Irish question. During the first years of the nineteenth century, when the Napoleonic war was being fought, little interest was felt in Irish affairs. Grattan made speeches in Parliament, but they obtained no attention. A rising, Emmott's rebellion (1803), in Ireland, failed. The breach between Protestants and Catholics widened. Ireland retained her grievances, but did not find any effective means of giving utterance to them till the rise of a new champion, Daniel O'Connell.



Rischgitz

EMMETT PREPARING FOR THE INSURRECTION

O'CONNELL AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

In dealing with Grattan the English ruling classes had been faced with a man of their own type. He was a great Parliamentary orator, who shared their own ideas of Parliamentary government and their own Protestant religion, and his supporters were the Irish gentry. O'Connell, who was a Catholic, and whose supporters were the common people of Ireland, seemed to them a dangerous extremist and demagogue. They questioned his sincerity, and accused him of winning money out of the Irish peasants, and of stirring up trouble to satisfy his own political ambitions. But there can be no doubt of the breadth and genuineness of O'Connell's sympathy for the sufferings of the Irish peasantry, nor of his belief that these would be relieved if the Irish could get political power into their own hands.

O'Connell's first object was to secure that the Catholics, who formed the majority of the Irish population, should be able to send men of their own religion to represent them in Parliament. The question of Catholic emancipation had agitated Ireland since the days of Grattan's Parliament, and emancipation had been promised by Pitt at the time of the Union. Mainly because of the religious prejudices of George III, the promise had not been kept. Yet, since Catholics had obtained votes in 1795, to grant them the right to sit in Parliament did not involve any very revolutionary change. O'Connell saw that without organisation the Catholic peasants had no means of influencing their rulers. In 1823 he formed the Catholic Association, in which the peasants were organised under the leadership of their priests and paid a weekly contribution, the "Catholic Rent," to support O'Connell's political campaign.

The Association became so strong that, in 1828, O'Connell determined to force a decision on the question of Catholic emancipation by securing his own election to Parliament in a bye-election that was being held for County Clare. Led by their priests the Catholic voters elected him by a tremendous majority. The government had to decide whether it would permit him to take his seat in Parliament, or risk a civil war in Ireland, where the Protestant Orange League and the Catholic Association were beginning to arm. Wellington's government (1828-1830) was strongly opposed to Catholic emancipation.

But the Duke, taught by his Spanish experiences, did not believe any policy worth a civil war, and Peel, the other Tory leader, agreed with him, so Catholic emancipation was granted (1829)

THE TITHE WAR LICHFIELD HOUSE COMPACT

The Irish peasants themselves were more interested in the payment of tithes than in political questions. A tenth of the produce of farms had to be given to the Protestant Church of England, and since most of the Irish were Catholics this was deeply resented. In 1830 resistance to the collection of tithes became violent, and, in the "Tithe war," there was not only a succession of outrages, but considerable loss of life.

O'Connell saw an opportunity of obtaining concessions from Parliament by using the position of the Irish members of the House of Commons as a third party. Irish support might then decide whether a Whig or Tory government was to be in power when neither had a decisive majority. The position of Melbourne's Whig government (1834-1841) was insecure, so O'Connell made the "Lichfield House Compact" with the Whigs, by which, in return for Irish support, reforms were promised.

These reforms were hampered by the opposition of the House of Lords. But measures were passed for the establishment of a poor law for Ireland, and for the reform of municipal corporations. The Tithe war was ended by the commutation of tithes for a charge upon rents (1838). Yet O'Connell saw no hope that the English government would either understand or remedy Irish grievances. On the return of Peel and the Tories to power (1841-1846), he began to agitate for Irish independence and the repeal of the Union.

O'CONNELL'S REPEAL AGITATION

In 1840 a Repeal Association was founded on the lines of the Catholic Association. O'Connell also had the support of a society of enthusiasts, the "Young Ireland Party" formed for the revival of Irish freedom and traditions. Yet he could not unite Ireland behind him as Grattan had done. The feud between Catholics and Protestants, revived during the later years of the eighteenth century had been deepened and embittered

by time, and by outrages and violence on both sides. The Protestant minority in Ireland had learnt to fear Catholic domination and to support the Union. Moreover, Peel made a firm stand against the movement for Irish independence, and declared himself ready to uphold the Union by force.

When O'Connell continued his agitation by addressing monster public meetings in different parts of Ireland, an Arms Bill was passed for the suppression of seditious assemblies. In 1843 O'Connell summoned a meeting at Clontarf, famous as the site of an ancient Irish victory over the Danes. The authorities, fearing the huge crowds that were assembling, forbade it. O'Connell was faced by a dilemma. He could either give way, and risk the loss of his prestige, or he could persist, knowing that his followers would be attacked by troops. In the end he maintained his policy of peace, and abandoned the meeting.

The result was that he was totally discredited. The Irish realised that the government was ready to resort to force, and that O'Connell was not. The government realised that its policy had been victorious, O'Connell was seized and tried on a charge of trying to alter the constitution by force. But the Protestant jury that condemned him was so obviously chosen for the purpose that the House of Lords quashed the sentence as discreditable to the whole system of trial by jury. O'Connell was left free but powerless, and died abroad, deserted by the Irish to whose cause he had devoted his life.

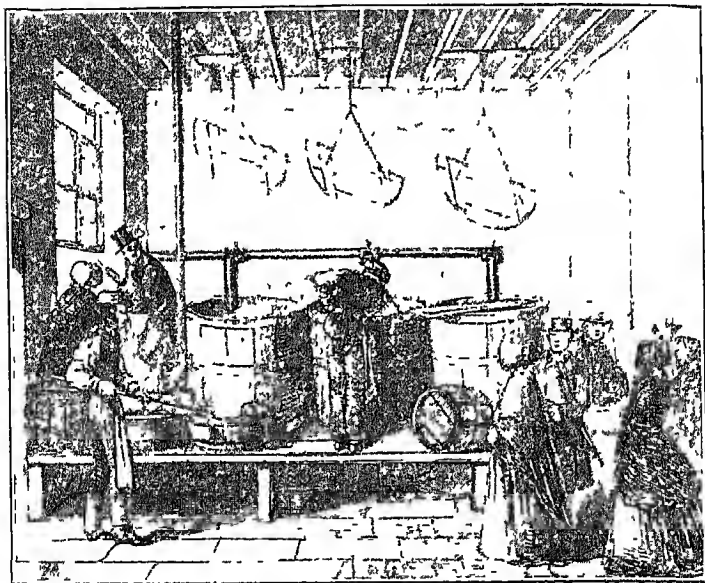
THE IRISH FAMINE THE FENIANS

The middle years of the nineteenth century were a time of tragedy for Ireland. In 1845 and 1846 the potato crops failed, and it is estimated that, in the famine that followed, a million people died of hunger and the diseases that resulted from it. Peel took the Irish famine as an excuse for repealing the Corn Laws and allowing the free import of wheat. But this did not benefit the starving Irish, who could not afford to buy wheat. Their own wheat crops were being exported because they commanded higher prices abroad.

Some relief was given by the importation of maize into Ireland by the British government, but the lack of food at home drove thousands of Irish to emigrate to America. The Irish peasants blamed England, justly or unjustly, for their misery, and

for upholding their landlords against them. They took with them to America a sense of bitter hostility to everything English, which could not but effect Anglo-American relations.

In 1848 the Young Ireland Party which had been among the supporters of O'Connell, attempted a rebellion under the leadership of Smith O'Brien. The suppression of its revolt and the transportation of its leaders, brought the movement to an end. For some years Irish revolutionary organisations centred in



THE CORK SOCIETY OF FRIENDS' SOUP HOUSE DURING THE IRISH FAMINE OF 1847

America, among the Irish who had emigrated there, rather than in Ireland itself.

In 1858 the Fenian Brotherhood, sworn to liberate Ireland by any means and to establish an Irish republic, was founded in New York. In the sixties its terrorist activities became important both in England and Ireland. In 1867 there was a Fenian revolt in Ireland, and when it had been put down, attempts to rescue Fenian prisoners in England caused the murder of a policeman in Manchester, and an attempt to blow up Clerkenwell

Prison The Fenians hanged for the death of the Manchester policeman were known to their sympathisers as the "Manchester Martyrs"

GLADSTONE'S IRISH POLICY

The most important result of the Fenian outrages was to call Gladstone's attention to Irish affairs. He seems to have felt that real grievances must lie at the root of so much violence, and he set himself to find out what those grievances were. Gladstone was a deeply religious man, and one who attached great importance both to religious liberty and to the differences between creeds. He was inclined to attribute the same point of view to the Irish, and to think that their principal cause of discontent was the position of the Protestant Church in Ireland, as the established Church in a predominantly Catholic country.

In 1869, therefore, he passed a measure for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. The Protestants were allowed to keep their sacred buildings and about half of their endowments, but they lost their position as the official Church of Ireland. The measure, though it pleased the Irish, did not greatly affect the situation in Ireland. With Catholic emancipation and the settlement of the tithe question, the Protestant establishment had ceased to weigh heavily upon Catholics.

Gladstone showed a truer appreciation of the real cause of Irish grievances in his Irish Land Act (1870). The root of the poverty and misery of Ireland was the difficulty with which Irish peasants could extract a bare living from their farms. But Gladstone's attempt to interfere between landlord and tenant met with strong opposition in England, where it was regarded as an attack on property rights and on free bargaining.

Ignorance of Irish conditions made the English unaware of the difference in the position of the tenant farmer in England and that of the peasant cultivator in Ireland. Irish holdings were tiny, rents high, and competition for land so great that tenants were readily evicted. Evicted tenants were faced with starvation. To secure its passage, Gladstone's Bill was much altered. It gave Irish tenants who were paying a reasonable rent the right to claim compensation for eviction, and empowered the Board of Trade to make loans to tenants who wished to purchase their land. But it was, on the whole, a failure.



London Electrotvpe Agency

MR GLADSTONE EXPLAINING TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS HIS SCHEME FOR
THE GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND, THURSDAY, APRIL 8

"The Irishman is profoundly Irish, but it does not follow that because his local patriotism is keen, he is incapable of Imperial patriotism "

PARNELL AND HOME RULE

In the seventies new movements for Irish independence began. In 1875 Isaac Butt founded the "Home Rule League" to obtain repeal of the Union. In 1879 the Land League was founded by Michael Davitt, who, though he did not know a great deal about the land question, realised its importance to Ireland. Like Butt and the Fenians, however, his real aim was Irish independence.

The Home Rule League provided the Irish with a constitutional means of agitation, and Fenian violence began to die down. But Isaac Butt was too mild to be an effective leader, and the real advance of his movement began when it fell under the leadership of Charles Stuart Parnell. Parnell is not an attractive figure. He was reserved and enigmatical, and seemed to stand apart even from his own followers. He was a Protestant landowner, and seemed to be inspired as much by hatred of England as by sympathy for the Irish Catholic peasantry. But he was a brilliant party manager and politician. He handled the Irish movement in such a way as to bring the greatest possible amount of pressure to bear on Parliament and on Irish landlords.

In Parliament Parnell adopted the policy of holding up all business, as a means of forcing the government to pay attention to Irish affairs. The members of the Irish party held up Parliamentary debates by making long speeches, and to meet this the device of arbitrary closure of debate had to be used. In Ireland itself Parnell devised a policy, nicknamed "boycott" after its first victim, to intimidate landlords.

In 1879 the crops had failed so the Land League had ordered that rents should not be paid, so as to force landlords to lower them, and that, when a tenant was evicted, no one should take his land. Parnell's device was to send to Coventry both agents who tried to evict tenants and tenants who failed to obey the instructions of the Land League. Such victims of boycott were cut off from all trade or intercourse with their neighbours. In the carrying out of the process many outrages were committed. In 1881 Gladstone's government passed not only a Coercion Bill to restore order in Ireland, but a second Land Act. This established Land Courts to regulate rents, to prevent unjustified evictions, and to assess compensation due for improvements carried out by evicted tenants.



London Electrotape Agency
RE-ELECTION OF MR. PARNELL AS LEADER OF THE IRISH PARTY, NOV. 25, IN COMMITTEE ROOM NO. 15, HOUSE OF COMMONS

Unfortunately, in passing both a Land Act and a Coercion Bill, the government was trying to soothe and repress the Irish at the same moment. When the Land League was suppressed and Parnell and other leaders were imprisoned, the disorder in Ireland became worse. In 1882 the Liberals came to an agreement with Parnell, called the "Kilmainham Treaty," because the Irish leader was in Kilmainham gaol when it was negotiated by Chamberlain.

But Irish affairs were not destined to be brought to a peaceful settlement. In the same year the new Secretary for Ireland, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, were murdered when walking in Phoenix Park, Dublin. This outrage so inflamed English public opinion that a policy of conciliation became impossible, and although Parnell and his friends disavowed all connection with the murders, they were not believed. Spencer's administration reduced Ireland to order by a vigorous use of coercion. The Irish retaliated by dynamite outrages in London. The Irish party withdrew its support from the Liberals, and the Gladstone ministry fell (1885).

GLADSTONE'S HOME RULE BILLS

Parnell was in a strong position for while the numbers of Conservatives and Liberals in Parliament remained fairly evenly balanced, the support of the Irish party would decide which was to govern the country. Parnell's price for this support was the abandonment of coercion in Ireland and some measure of Home Rule. Though Salisbury's government (1885-1886) allowed the Coercion Bill to lapse, it would not abandon the Union. In 1886 Gladstone, who had by now convinced himself that Home Rule was the will of the Irish nation, came into power with Irish support.

But the opinion of Gladstone's party had not changed with his own. A considerable body of moderate Liberals, led by Lord Hartington, still continued to think that an independent Ireland would provide ground for foreign intrigues against Britain. Some of the Radicals, while sympathising with the Irish demand for liberty held that it was unwise to make concessions to a people that used force and violence to extort them. Gladstone brought forward a Home Rule Bill that was to give Ireland an independent Parliament and almost complete control of her

domestic affairs, leaving her foreign policy in British hands. But the Liberal "Unionists" voted against it, and it was defeated (1886).

The failure of Gladstone's Home Rule policy had tremendous effects upon both English and Irish politics. The split which it had caused in the Liberal party remained. The Liberal Unionists finally united with the Conservatives and a period of Conservative government followed. The refusal of Home Rule after it had obtained Gladstone's support was a bitter disappointment to Ireland, and a new period of disorder and violence followed. The "National League," which had taken the place of the Land League, established a "Plan of Campaign" to force landlords to lower rents. Balfour, who was Irish Secretary during the second Salisbury government (1886-1892) had to reduce the country to order by new means of coercion.

Meanwhile, Parnell's career was drawing to an end. In 1887 the "Times" published a letter which he was said to have written, and which expressed approval of the Phoenix Park murders. Parnell denied that the letter was his, but he was generally disbelieved, especially as he refused to take any further action in the matter. In 1890 the letter was proved to be a forgery, and the British public, feeling that it had condemned Parnell unjustly, suddenly became inclined to make him a hero.

His popularity did not last long, however, for he was named as co-respondent in a divorce case, and his private life received a great deal of unpleasant publicity. Gladstone warned him that, if he continued to lead the Irish party the cause of Home Rule would be damaged in public opinion, but Parnell refused to resign. His followers at first supported him, but, finding that they must choose between him and Gladstone, most of them threw him over. In 1891 he died, unable to face this general desertion. In 1893 Gladstone, who had returned to power for a short interval, brought forward another Home Rule Bill, but it was defeated, with the result that Gladstone retired from public life, leaving the Irish question unsettled.

REDMOND AND THE LIBERALS STRIFE IN IRELAND

The Conservative governments of the nineties and of the first years of the twentieth century adopted a policy of conciliation in Ireland. Home Rule had been defeated, and they hoped to

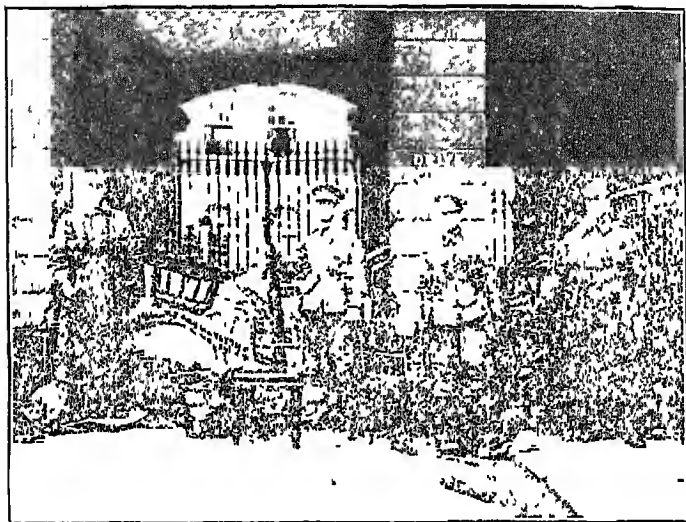
reconcile the Irish to English rule by good government and by measures designed to remove grievances. An example of this policy is Wyndham's Land Purchase Act (1903), which empowered the government to buy up estates and then to re-sell the land in small holdings to the Irish peasantry. A great deal was done to improve the prosperity of Irish farming. Plunkett, an Irishman, established an Agricultural Organisation Society, and this developed into an official Department of Agriculture. But although this policy did improve Irish conditions, it did not produce contentment and peace. In 1898 a failure of the potato crop was followed by a new period of disorder and outrages. The political agitation for Home Rule was revived by the Nationalists, now under the leadership of John Redmond.

The general election of 1910 left the Liberal government dependent upon Irish support, and Redmond was able to extort a promise of a new Home Rule Bill. This Bill (1912) was very much on the lines of Gladstone's measures. Ireland was to have an independent Parliament, but Britain retained control of her foreign policy and of certain branches of internal administration. Also the Irish Parliament was to pass no measures that interfered with religious liberty. Although the Liberal party was strong enough to pass its Bill through the House of Commons, it was rejected by the Lords, who used their constitutional power to delay it for two years, so that Home Rule had not been granted to Ireland at the beginning of the Great War.

In Ireland itself the Bill was unpopular. The Nationalists did not think that it went far enough. A new political group, the "Sinn Féiners," had been founded by Arthur Griffiths (1900), and refused to have anything to do with England or the British Parliament, and remained hostile to all constitutional attempts to establish Irish independence. On the other hand the Protestants of Ulster felt that Home Rule would put them under Catholic domination, and though they were a minority they were a very energetic one. Led by Carson they began to prepare for armed resistance. The Nationalists followed their example, and Ireland seemed to be on the threshold of a civil war. Ulster commanded a great deal of sympathy among English Unionists, and the resignation of the officers of regiments ordered there from the Curragh, the "Curragh Mutiny" (1914), showed the danger of the position.

SINN FEIN AND THE IRISH REPUBLIC

The outbreak of the Great War ended this awkward situation. Redmond and the Nationalists loyally supported Britain and agreed to postpone the Home Rule question to the end of the war. But the more violent spirits in Ireland were becoming tired of the moderation of their Nationalist leaders. The war provided an opportunity for the Sinn Feiners, who wanted to be



IRISH REBELLION SCENES IN DUBLIN

Soldiers guarding the back entrance to the Four Courts. Note the bedding and furniture which was used by the Rebels as a barricade.

done with England altogether and were ready to seek German aid.

In 1916 Sir Roger Casement attempted to smuggle German arms into the country. His capture was followed by the "Easter Week" rebellion in Dublin. The rebellion was suppressed without difficulty for the rest of Ireland lacked aims to give its support. But it was felt that a triumph had been scored when Asquith promised an immediate measure of Home Rule. The influence of the Sinn Feiners increased, while that of Redmond was weakened. The extension of conscription to Ireland (1918)

completed the triumph of Sinn Féins. In the election of 1918 the Nationalists were defeated everywhere.

In 1919 the Sinn Féiners established an Irish Republic, under the presidency of Mr. De Valera. This was ignored by Britain, and in 1920 Mr. Lloyd George passed an Home Rule Act, which cut off Ulster from the rest of Ireland and established two Irish Parliaments, one at Dublin and one at Belfast. Ulster accepted the Act, which is the foundation of its present constitution. In the rest of Ireland the attempt to enforce it led to civil war between the Royal Irish Constabulary and the "Irish Republican Army."

In 1921 a conference between the British government and the Sinn Féiners was arranged, and the "Irish Free State" was recognised by treaty. In 1922 Dominion Status was conferred upon it. But De Valera and the extreme Republicans would not accept this settlement, and a new civil war followed between the Irish government and the Republicans. Mr. Cosgrave, who became President, restored order by violent measures, and the Free State remained on friendly terms with England till the return of Mr. De Valera to power (1932).

CHAPTER L

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS IN THE PERIOD OF GLADSTONE AND DISRAELI

The death of Palmerston (1865) marks the end of a period during which national affairs were under the control of aristocratic Whig leaders opposed to change. There followed a time of energetic legislation and reforms, carried out by the Conservatives, under the leadership of Disraeli, and the Liberals under that of Gladstone.

Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) belonged to a Jewish family of moderate wealth, and considerable culture. In his youth he tried various occupations. He travelled in the East, which captured his fancy and made him an ardent imperialist. He became a fashionable novelist, went into Society a great deal, and achieved the reputation of being a brilliant and attractive but rather flamboyant and unstable, young man. Actually he was much more serious than he appeared to be, and his novels, in spite of their extravagant style, show shrewd and cynical judgment both of politics and of politicians. He had also a sympathy with the conditions of the working class that he retained all his life, and expressed in some of the measures passed during his premiership.

Disraeli's ambitions were always political, but they were hampered by his Jewish blood and lack of influence, and he was in the thirties before he obtained a seat in Parliament. His political views were unorthodox. His sympathies were with the poor, but he held that the aristocracy were their natural leaders. He believed that the lower classes and the landed gentry should combine against the Whig-Liberal industrialists, whose interests were opposed to their own. This was Toryism, but it was a democratic Toryism that had a wide popular appeal. Disraeli entered Parliament as an Independent. He became the leader of a small group of aristocratic young Tories, who nicknamed themselves the "Young England Party," and then the ally and champion of the Protestant Tory squires in their opposition to the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846).

The struggle over the Corn Laws gave him the chance to make a name for himself by sarcastic and brilliant attacks upon Peel's change of principles. When the Conservative party split into Protectionists and Peelites, he became leader of the Protectionist section in the Commons. Since the Peelites gradually became identified with the Liberals, the Conservatives were left as a purely Protectionist party. Since the country was now firmly converted to Free Trade, this kept them out of office. Disraeli therefore set himself to "educate" his followers into abandoning protection as unattainable and turning their attention to other political questions. But the process was a slow one, and, though he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the brief Derby ministries of 1852 and 1858, he was fated to spend the best years of his life out of office.

GLADSTONE

William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898) was the son of a rich Liverpool merchant of Scottish extraction. After a brilliant career at Oxford, he obtained a seat in Parliament through the influence of the Duke of Newcastle. Unlike Disraeli, he was a young man of orthodox views, being a rigid Tory and a High Churchman. But, while Disraeli became leader of the Conservative party, Gladstone, though he remained a sincere Churchman, moved further and further away from the political principles of his youth and became an advanced Liberal. During his early years in Parliament he was a follower of Peel, and shared his leader's conversion to Free Trade doctrines. When the repeal of the Corn Laws split the Conservative party, leaving Disraeli as leader of the Protectionists, Gladstone and the other "Peelites" gradually drifted into alliance with the Whigs. Gladstone proved himself to be an able "Free Trade" Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Aberdeen coalition ministry (1852-1855).

When the mismanagement of the Crimean war led to a popular demand that Palmerston should replace Aberdeen as Prime Minister, Gladstone's position was a difficult one. He disliked Palmerston's aggressive foreign policy, and was inclined to share the pacifist views of the advanced Liberals, Cobden and Bright. In Palmerston's second ministry (1859-1865) he was Chancellor once more, but there were many points on which he

disagreed with his chief. Gladstone was by now recognised as one of the leaders of the advanced Liberal wing of the party, while Palmerston represented the aristocratic Whigs of the old school, who opposed change and regarded the first Reform Act (1832) as a final settlement of the franchise.

JOHN BRIGHT AND AGITATION FOR REFORM

Palmerston was immensely popular, but on the question of the franchise the nation did not agree with him. The first



JOHN BRIGHT, ABOUT 70's

Reform Act, which gave votes to the middle classes, had disappointed the workers, who had helped to agitate for it, and their discontent had broken out in the Chartist movement. Even after the failure of Chartism the desire for Parliamentary reform remained. During the sixties the demand for it was revived by John Bright, who, having helped Cobden to secure the repeal of the Corn Laws, now turned his attention to the establishment of democratic government.

Bright spread the demand for reform by addressing great public meetings, and though he was not a member of the government his influence over town workers and lower middle class people was tremendous. Palmerston disliked both democracy and Bright's radicalism. He knew that reform had the support of Gladstone and the advanced Liberals, and that only his restraining hand prevented his party from adopting a reform policy. But he held out till his death in 1865, and such was his command of the affections of the nation that he was able to do so without losing his popularity or the control of public affairs.

When Palmerston died (1865) the leaders of the Conservatives and Liberals in the Commons were Disraeli and Gladstone. In the Lords the party leaders were the Earl of Derby and Earl Russell—the Lord John Russell who had helped to pass the first Reform Act and who now became Prime Minister (1865-1866). In 1866 Russell and Gladstone brought forward a Reform Bill. Though it was very moderate, the followers of Palmerston, the Whig section of the Liberal party, clung to his opposition to any further extension of the franchise. Led by Robert Lowe, these Palmerstonian Liberals voted with the Conservatives to defeat the government. Bright nicknamed Lowe's followers the "Adullamites," comparing their party to the Cave of Adullam, to which all those discontented with Saul flocked to join David against him.

THE SECOND REFORM ACT

The defeat of the Liberals brought the Conservatives into office (1866), with Lord Derby as Prime Minister and Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Conservative party did not favour any further extension of the franchise, but Disraeli, who had always sympathised with the working classes, probably had an open mind on the subject. The situation was a very difficult one. The working classes, already roused by Bright's agitation for extension of the franchise, had been angered by the suggestion, made by Lowe and his Adullamites, that they were unfit to have votes. There were disturbances, though not serious ones, that led to a rather unjustified fear of revolution. It was evident that the franchise question must be settled and, characteristically, Disraeli chose to settle it himself, rather than to leave it to the Liberals. In 1867 he brought forward a Conservative Reform Bill.

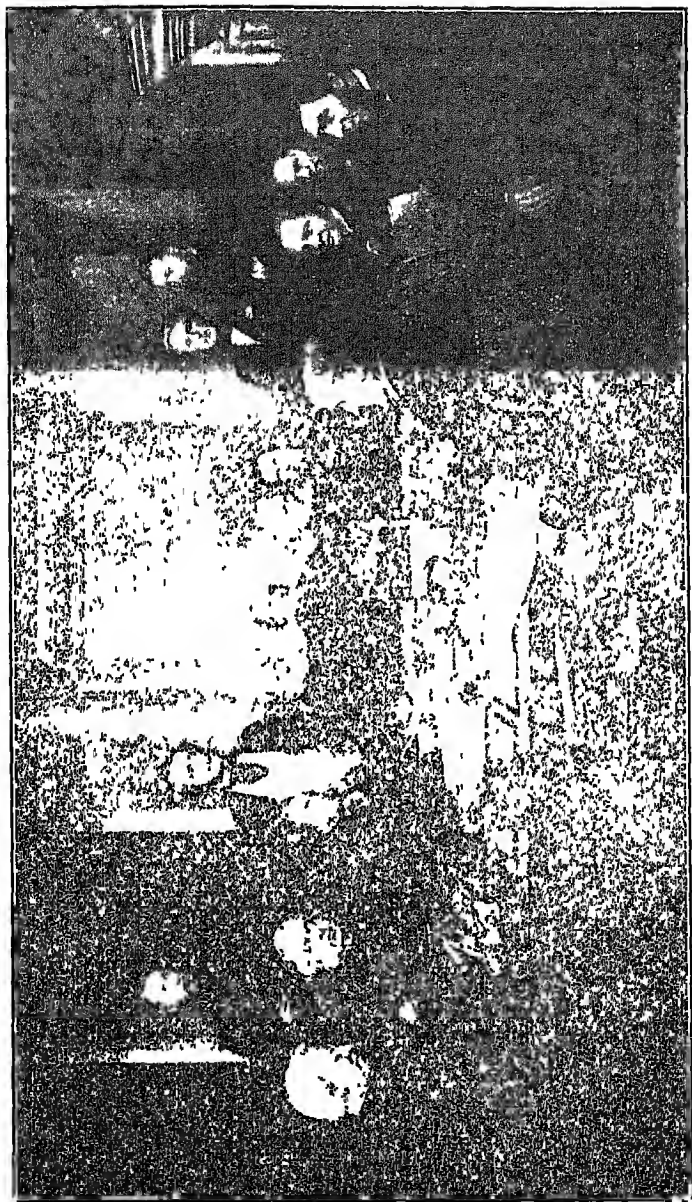
Disraeli had grasped the importance given by industrial changes to the artisan class in the towns the upper rank of the working class It was to this section of the nation, and to the lower middle class, that he now proposed to give votes by extending the franchise in the boroughs to all ratepayers He had predicted that, in repealing the Corn Laws, England had committed herself to an industrial future, so it was to the industrial workers that he now attempted to give a share in the government of the country But by a system of "fancy franchises" that gave two votes to ministers, university graduates, and various other classes of people, he tried to prevent the working class vote from outweighing that of the other classes

The result was that the Liberals, who could scarcely refuse to pass a Reform Bill, attacked these "fancy franchises," and cut them out of the measure When the Bill was passed it was more democratic than the one proposed by the Liberals themselves; for it made the payment of rates a sufficient qualification for a vote in a borough constituency At first the new Act seemed to be a blow to the Conservatives for, in the election of 1868 the Liberals secured a majority But time showed that Disraeli had judged the interests of his party correctly, for during the later years of the century it enjoyed a long tenure of power

GLADSTONE'S LIBERAL MEASURES

The first election that followed the new Reform Act gave the Liberals a majority Gladstone became Prime Minister (1868-1874), and, since the Whig "Adullamites," the branch of his party that was opposed to change, lost their seats, he was able to bring forward measures desired by advanced Liberals

Gladstone's own attention was fixed upon Ireland, to which it had been called by the Fenian outrages During his ministry the Irish Church was disestablished (1869), and the first Irish Land Act passed (1870) But the ministry also passed important measures for education and for the reform of the army and of the civil services The Ballot Act (1872), by substituting secret voting at elections for public voting at the hustings, helped to prevent intimidation of the new working class voters The establishment of a Local Government Board (1871) brought local authorities for public health, poor law, and local government under the control of a central board



THE CABINET OF 1869-74 GLADSTONE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

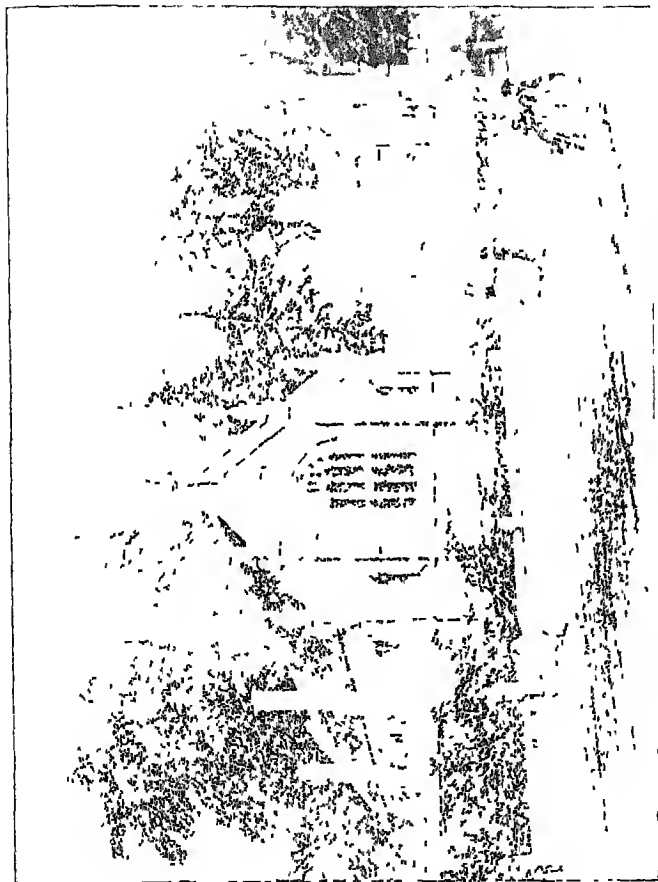
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In 1870 Forster brought forward an Elementary Education Bill. English education was in a very backward condition, and half of the population could neither read nor write. The elementary schools of the country were established, not by the government, but by voluntary religious organisations: the Church of England "National School Society," and the Nonconformist "British and Foreign School Society." Since 1833 these societies had been aided by a government grant, and since 1839 grant-aided schools had been subject to government inspection. Forster's Act did not attempt to abolish or supersede the voluntary schools of the two societies. It established local School Boards to provide elementary schools in districts where the voluntary schools did not exist or were insufficient. A third of the expenses of these schools were to be met by a government grant, a third out of the rates, and a third by school fees. At first, attendance at school was not compulsory, except in certain districts. It did not become compulsory in all parts of the country till 1880, and it was not made completely free till 1891.

Forster's Act laid the foundation of the modern system of elementary schools, but it roused much discontent among religious bodies. In the new "provided" schools established by the School Boards only general religious instruction, acceptable to people of all denominations, was to be given. But Nonconformists complained that, through the retention of the voluntary schools, in many districts their children had to go to "National Schools," where Church of England doctrines were taught. At the same time, the National Society recognised that, in spite of an increased government grant, their schools would be gradually superseded by those provided by the government. So the Act pleased neither Anglicans nor Nonconformists, and helped to secure the defeat of the Liberals in the next general election.

Gladstone's ministry also reformed the method of appointing civil servants. They had in the past been chosen, not because of their qualifications, but because they possessed some relation or benefactor, who could influence the government in their favour. This system had provided the party in office with a means of buying support, but it had also tended to fill government departments with idle and incompetent officials, and

administration suffered. The system of choosing government officials by competitive examination had been tried in the India Office, and its success led Gladstone to extend it to other departments. The result was that public appointments went to



A NATIONAL SCHOOL AND SCHOOL HOUSE, 1843

The architect sought to express two ideas—the ecclesiastical connection, dignity with economy. The school cost £500, the school house £260

men of ability instead of to men of influence, and the efficiency of the civil service was greatly increased.

A similar change was made in the army. To obtain promotion an officer was obliged to buy his commission from

his predecessor, and was then able to sell it in his turn. This system prevented the rise of poor men of ability, and Gladstone and his War Minister, Cardwell, determined to abolish it. But the measure aroused a great deal of opposition, both in the Army itself and among the privileged classes, and the House of Lords refused to assent to it. Finally the matter was settled by the Queen, who abolished "purchase" by Royal Warrant. Compensation was paid to those who had bought their commissions, and the road to promotion in the army was opened to men of experience and ability. Cardwell also carried out other important reforms. He instituted a system of short service in the Army, which gave men an opportunity of undergoing military training, and yet securing their discharge while they were still young enough to make a civilian career for themselves.

In the election of 1874 the Liberals were defeated, and the Conservatives came into office with Disraeli as Prime Minister (1874-1880). Gladstone's pacifism was one cause of the fall of his government, for the country was beginning to desire a more active foreign policy. In the past it had been Palmerston and the Whigs who had been eager to make English influence felt abroad, but Disraeli had infected the Conservatives with his own doctrine of imperialism. His ministry was to bring with it not only colonial wars, but the check to Russian aspirations in the Near East administered by the Treaty of Berlin (1878).

DISRAELI'S SOCIAL REFORMS

Disraeli's domestic policy was one of useful, if not sweeping, social reforms, which gave expression to the sympathy that he had felt with the working classes since his youth. He did not share the nineteenth-century Liberal belief that the state should interfere as little as possible in the lives of its citizens. His measures for factory regulation, sanitation, and housing are an interesting foreshadowing of twentieth-century policy. In 1875 the Public Health Act codified existing sanitary legislation. Housing conditions in the new industrial districts that had developed since the Industrial Revolution were terribly bad. An attempt to deal with the housing question was made by the Artisans' Dwellings Act (1875), which empowered corporations to buy up insanitary houses, and to build new ones suitable for working class families. This was the first step towards modern schemes for slum abolition and for the provision of working

class houses by the joint efforts of the central government and the local authorities

In the same year the Employers' and Workmen's Act (1875) was passed to deal with a grievance of the Trade Unions, which, by the extension of the franchise to the artisan class, had acquired considerable political influence. A measure passed by Gladstone's government had forbidden the Unions to attempt, by "picketing" to prevent men going to work during a strike. Disraeli's Act made picketing legal, provided that it was carried on by peaceful methods and that no violence was used.

The firm belief of the Liberals in the freedom of the individual and in the free development of industry led them to oppose all government interference with industrial conditions. Radicals like Cobden and Bright were opponents of the Factory Acts, and left their Tory and Conservative opponents to pass laws for the protection of industrial workers. This agreed very well with Disraeli's political ideal of Tory democracy, and in 1878 his government, in the Factories and Workshops Act, codified and revised the Factory Acts that had already been passed. In 1876 the Merchant Shipping Act began the task of securing protection for seamen by empowering the Board of Trade to inspect and condemn vessels that were unfit to go to sea. It also enforced the use of the "Plimsoll line," named after Samuel Plimsoll, who had agitated for it. This was a line painted on the hull of ships to indicate the waterline beyond which the ship must not be so heavily loaded as to sink.

But Disraeli's domestic policy of Tory democracy attracted less attention than his imperialism. The latter part of his ministry was principally occupied by foreign affairs, and the achieving of the Berlin settlement (1878). The nation welcomed the settlement of the Near Eastern dispute without a war with Russia, but, just as it had tired of Gladstone's pacifism, it was growing weary of an energetic foreign policy. In the elections of 1880 Disraeli, who had been created Earl of Beaconsfield in 1876, was defeated, and Gladstone once more came into power.

THE THIRD REFORM ACT

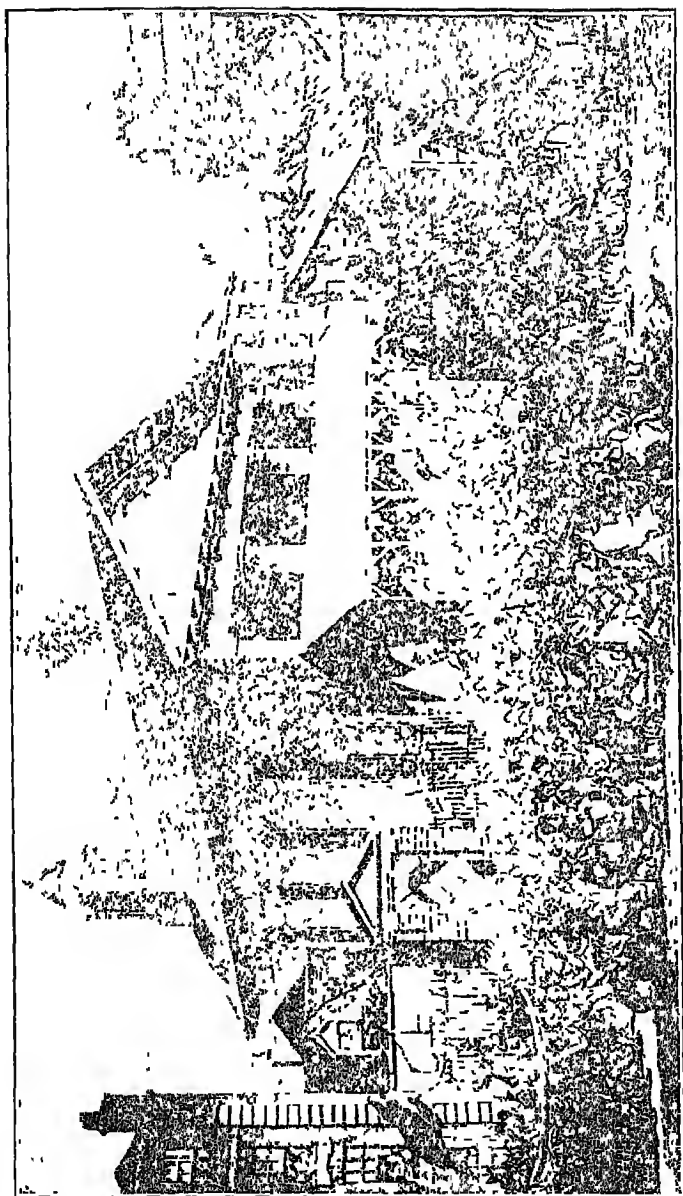
From the time of the Second Reform Act (1867) the ministries of Gladstone and Disraeli had produced a series of measures of reorganisation and reform, and this was continued by the

Third Reform Act (1884) of Gladstone's second ministry (1880-1885).

This Act made the franchise the same in county as in borough constituencies—that is, it gave the vote in counties, as well as in boroughs, to householders who paid rates. This meant that votes were given to industrial workers who lived outside boroughs, and to the agricultural labourer. To secure the passage of the Bill through the House of Lords, it was followed by a measure for the redistribution of seats (1885), which disfranchised small boroughs altogether, and left those with less than 50,000 inhabitants represented by only one member of Parliament.

The Third Reform Act increased the representation of the working classes, but its most important result was the grant of representation to agricultural labourers. They had previously been of little political importance, and therefore were neglected by the government. Unlike the industrial worker, the country labourers had no unions or organisations of their own. The landowners, who represented agricultural interests in Parliament, were more concerned with the welfare of the tenant farmer than of the labourer, of whose conditions of life they often knew little. The enfranchisement of the labourer enabled him to make his grievances heard. It paved the way for later efforts to improve rural housing, to provide smallholdings, and in other ways to improve the condition of the agricultural worker, and to make him less eager to leave the country for the town.

The extension of the franchise by the Second and Third Reform Acts had marked effects upon election campaigning and party organisation. When voters were few and elections controlled by the upper classes, there was no need for electioneering of the modern type. But during the nineteenth century politicians learnt the value of popular campaigns: first, as in the case of the Anti-Corn Law League, to bring the pressure of public opinion upon the government, and then, after the enfranchisement of the working class, as a means of obtaining votes. Popular meetings, once viewed with suspicion as a cause of disorder, became usual, and politicians who addressed them were no longer regarded as demagogues. When Gladstone carried out his popular crusade against the Turks, at the time of the "Bulgarian atrocities" (1876), it was still considered a strange, and rather undignified, proceeding for an ex-Prime Minister to



Russett

THE HUSTINGS COVENT GARDEN

go about addressing casually gathered crowds. But modern statesmen tour the country as a matter of course to carry on their political campaigns.

PARTY ORGANISATION

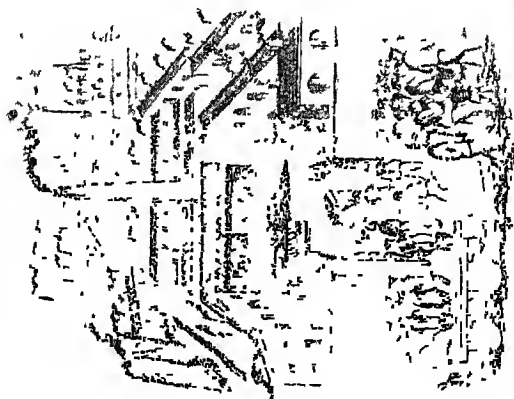
At the same time, the political parties began to organise themselves to compete for the support of the new voters. This development of party organisation was strongly influenced by Joseph Chamberlain and the Birmingham Political Union. This had been developed by Chamberlain to secure the support of Birmingham for his own programme. Liberal opinion in other constituencies was organised on similar lines, in order to obtain as many votes as possible for the Liberal party. Conservatives, finding Liberal methods effective, began to imitate them. Conservative and Liberal Associations were established, and elections began to be fought over party "programmes" laid down by the "central offices" of these associations, which were also responsible for the choosing of candidates. This development of party organisation limited the functions of voters by presenting them only with a choice between candidates and measures approved by the leaders of the political parties.

LIBERAL SPLIT ON HOME RULE POLICY

Except for the passing of the Third Reform Act Gladstone's second ministry was much less successful than his previous one. It was growing difficult to produce any policy that could command the support of all sections of the Liberal party, which included men of a great variety of opinions. There still remained a Whig section of the party, led by Lord Hartington, which considered much of the advanced Liberalism of Gladstone's views as too extreme, and which had much in common with the Conservatives. Even the Radical left-wing of the party was divided. There were old-fashioned Radical Nonconformists, like John Bright, who believed in free trade, peace, and the freedom of the individual from government interference. There was also a new type of extreme Radical, led by Joseph Chamberlain, who advocated universal suffrage, abolition of the House of Lords, and heavy taxation of the rich to provide money for social services. Chamberlain was regarded by some of the members of his own party as a red revolutionary. His disagreement with orthodox advanced Liberalism was made more

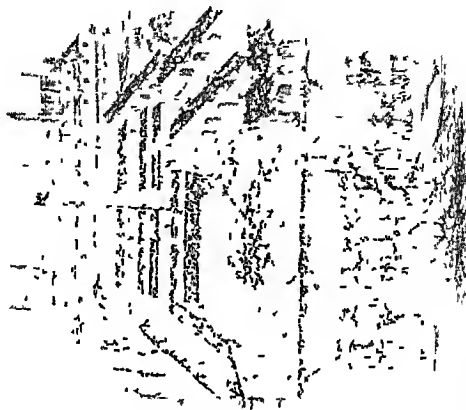
PROSPECTIVE VIEWS.

SHEFFIELD IN 1878
IF REPRESENTED BY MR FORDUCK



Thanks to Mr Redback we have plenty of work and good pay

SHEFFIELD IN 1878,
AS IT IS NOW BY MR MONTECLA



Owing to Mr Blackland we're rich and what and we are on the parish

FACTORY SCENE, 1878

Rischgitz

irreconcilable by his imperialism, which conflicted with the pacifism of men like Gladstone and Bright. It was obvious that a party which contained such diverse elements was likely to split upon some question or other. In this case, the question over which the Liberals disagreed was that of "Home Rule" for Ireland.

Gladstone was still preoccupied with the Irish question, which he believed it to be his task to settle, and which the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the Land Act of his previous ministry had failed to solve. By coming to terms with Parnell he might have managed to find a solution. But the tragic murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish (1882) roused popular opinion against the Irish Nationalists, so the attempted alliance between Parnell and Gladstone came to nothing. In 1885 the Irish party assisted the Conservatives to defeat the government.

The short period of Conservative rule that followed (1885-1886) was a mere episode. Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Conservative party on the death of Disraeli (1881), was Prime Minister. The Conservatives depended upon Irish support, and when Parnell found that they would not grant Home Rule, he once more transferred his allegiance to Gladstone. The result was the Home Rule Bill of Gladstone's third ministry (1886), which split the Liberal party, and paved the way for a long period of Conservative rule.

In adopting the cause of Home Rule Gladstone found himself opposed by two sections of the Liberal party: the Whig followers of Lord Hartington, and Chamberlain, the leader of the Radicals. He was defeated by the combination of his own discontented followers with the Conservatives. But having once been converted to Home Rule, he refused to abandon it, and dissolving Parliament, appealed to the country. His new Irish policy was not popular, and the policy of his ministry in South Africa and the Sudan had been even less so, so he did not obtain a sufficient majority to pass his measure.

Home Rule became the chief political issue of the day. Its Liberal opponents joined with the Conservatives to form a Unionist party, in opposition to the Liberal Home Rulers. A period of Unionist government followed, in which the Liberal governments of Gladstone (1892-1894), who made a last attempt before his retirement to pass a Home Rule Bill, and Rosebery (1894-1895), were no more than a short interval.

CHAPTER LI

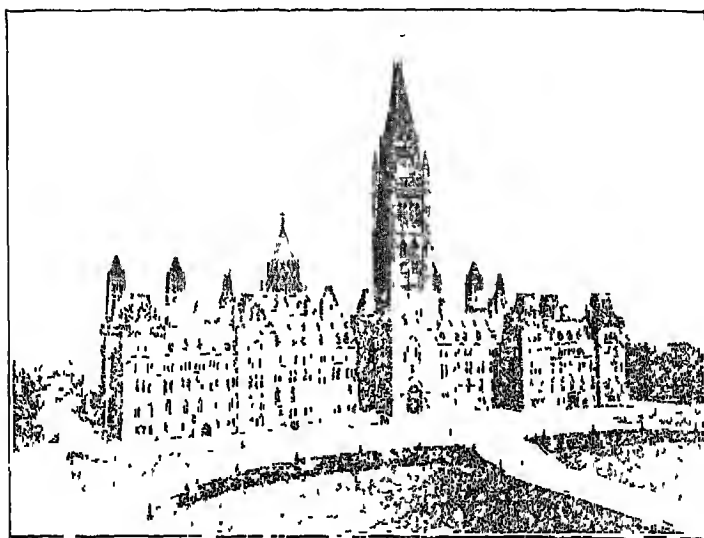
CANADA, AUSTRALIA, & NEW ZEALAND

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS AND PITT'S CANADA ACT

The beginning of Canada was a French settlement established on the banks of the St. Lawrence river in the early years of the seventeenth century. The French built the towns of Quebec and Montreal, between which their farms stretched in a continuous line along the flat country of the St. Lawrence valley to the mountains which bordered it. At the same time a sprinkling of French trappers and traders was spread over the interior of the country. The French were less ready than the English to settle in America. Their government had schemes for an American empire, that inspired their attempt to seize the whole of the interior of the continent, and so led to the colonial struggle with England. But Canada, when the English conquered it in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763), contained only about 60,000 people.

These French Canadians were Catholics, and were also simple country people, who were very much under the influence of their priests. This, and their French nationality, made the treatment of them a problem to the British government, whose own colonists in America were already becoming restless and discontented. But North's government proved much more successful in dealing with the French than with the English colonists. By the advice of Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of Canada, it passed the Quebec Act (1774). This safeguarded the religious freedom of the Canadian Catholics, permitted the collection of tithes for the Catholic Church, and retained the use of French law and custom, except in criminal cases, which were to be tried by jury in the English manner. The Act secured the loyalty of the French Canadians the more easily because French colonial government had been despotic and oppressive. When their religious customs were secure from interference, the settlers did not resent foreign rule, and remained faithful to England during the War of American Independence (1775-1783).

During the war the American colonists attacked Canada, which was saved by the energy of Carleton. When the war was over, those colonists who had supported the British cause, the "United Empire Loyalists," flocked over the border. They settled in Nova Scotia, the province to the east of Canada which had once been the French settlement of Acadie obtained by England by the Peace of Utrecht (1713). They settled also in Canada itself, on the shores of Lake Ontario, to the west of the French Canadians. These settlers made Canada once more



Photopress

VIEW OF FEDERAL HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA, CANADA

a problem to England. In the English colonies, they had been used to self-government, and they neither liked the arbitrary government of Canada, nor agreed well with their French neighbours. To deal with this situation Pitt passed his Canada Act (1791), which divided Canada into two parts: Upper Canada, which was the new English district, and Lower Canada which was the original colony.

Each of these provinces was to have a Governor, a nominated Council, and a representative Assembly. The Assembly had limited powers. It passed laws and controlled taxation, but its

laws could be vetoed by the Governor, and colonial administration was controlled by the governor and council. This division of Canada solved the racial problem for the time and prevented clashes between English and French Canadians. But the French, who were not politically minded, showed no enthusiasm for the new system, which they suspected of being a device for extracting additional taxes from them.

RELATIONS WITH U.S.A.

From the first the liberated American colonies desired to add Canada to the United States. The French Canadians realised that anti-Catholic feeling in the States would deprive their religion of its favoured position, and the "Loyalists" and their descendants remembered past persecution by the Americans. So when the Anglo-American War (1812-1814) brought with it an attempt to conquer Canada, the Canadians remained loyal. Though greatly outnumbered by their opponents, they had the support of Indian tribes, who had received fairer and more just treatment from the British government than from the Americans. But the colony was in grave danger, and was saved only by the skill of General Isaac Brock, who commanded the small force of British regular troops that garrisoned it, and who was killed during the course of the war.

Trouble with the United States continued even when the war was ended. The movement westwards into the interior of the continent caused boundary disputes, until the boundary between the two countries as far west as the Rocky Mountains was settled by Castlereagh in 1819. The population of Canada was increasing, for the depression in England that followed the Napoleonic war caused a stream of emigration, which continued through the hungry years of the middle of the century. The increase in population brought with it rebellion and discontent. In Upper Canada the new settlers found themselves looked down upon by the old "Loyalist" families. These formed a clique, known as the "Family Compact," that monopolised seats on the Council of the colony, and controlled the administration ignoring the wishes of the popularly elected Assembly. In Lower Canada the French Canadians complained that the Governor chose his Council from the small English minority in the colony, and that laws passed by their Assembly were vetoed, and they retaliated by refusing to vote taxes.

CANADIAN REBELLIONS THE DURHAM REPORT

In 1837 rebellions occurred in both Upper and Lower Canada. Though they were not very serious, and the leaders, Mackenzie and Papineau, soon fled to the United States, the British government was alarmed and sent out Lord Durham to deal with the situation. Durham was a Radical of strong opinions and much energy, and gossip said that Melbourne's ministry sent him to Canada to rid themselves of his interference at home. His views with regard to colonial questions were, like his other political opinions, advanced. In the first half of the nineteenth century, most people still regarded the colonies as existing for the benefit of the mother country. The advocates of free trade, who did not expect to obtain any benefit from them, regarded colonies as a burden, and looked forward to a day when they would have declared their independence, as the United States had done. But during the thirties a body of "colonial reformers" had developed under the influence of Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield advocated the reform of colonial administration, and the encouragement of emigration as a means of expanding the empire and of relieving distress at home. It was to this school of thought that Lord Durham belonged, and his survey of the Canadian situation and recommendations for the future treatment of the colony, the "Durham report" (1839), was the beginning of a new phase in colonial policy.

The Durham report recommended the union of Upper and Lower Canada, with the idea that in this united province the English would outnumber the French. It also recommended that responsible government should be granted to the colony, and so established the modern doctrine that British dependencies should follow a course of development into self-governing communities. But Durham's work was not at first received with favour at home. His despotic, though efficient methods of suppressing the rebellions led to his recall in disgrace, and it was not till 1841 that the Canada Act united Upper and Lower Canada. The colonial government consisted as before of a Governor, a Council, and a representative Assembly, but Durham's policy of responsible government was put into practice in the working of this system. The Governor acted in accordance with the wishes of the Assembly, and chose his ministers from its majority. The skilful management of Lord Elgin made the new

methods run smoothly, and educated the colonists in the use of their political rights, and the old political grievances came to an end

THE NORTH AMERICA ACT

But racial differences still remained a problem. English and French Canadians did not become a united nation. They retained their differences of speech, customs, and religion, and the French feared that, in a united Canada, their own importance and influence would be swamped as the numbers of English settlers increased. Moreover, as the interior of the country was settled, new provision had to be made for its government. Therefore, it was determined to adopt a federal system, like that of the United States. This would permit French and English to develop on their own lines, and would make it possible to provide for the government of newly settled areas by the establishment of new states. In 1867 the British North America Act established the Dominion of Canada—a federation of four states, Quebec (Lower Canada), Ontario (Upper Canada), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick (a settlement of United Empire Loyalists, between Nova Scotia and Quebec). Newfoundland, off the Canadian coast, was not included in the Dominion.

OREGON AND THE PRAIRIES

Meanwhile the population of Canada was increasing, but not with the same steady movement westwards as took place in the United States. For a long time little was known about the interior of the country, and Canadian development was confined to the region of the St. Lawrence valley. In 1778 Captain Cook had visited the Pacific coast, which was explored in the later years of the eighteenth century by Captain Vancouver, whose name was given to Vancouver Island. This western region formed part of the vast area known as the Oregon country. It was claimed by both Canada and the United States, until the Oregon boundary settlement (1846) divided it between the two.

At the end of the eighteenth century the prairie lands of central Canada had been explored by Mackenzie. He discovered the Mackenzie River and explored it to its mouth. He also crossed the Rocky Mountains, and so reached the Pacific coast from the interior of the country. But a belt of desert divided

the prairies from the St. Lawrence valley, and an attempt to plant a colony on the Red River (1812) failed. In spite of exploration, Canada, beyond the St. Lawrence valley, remained without agricultural settlements, and almost unknown except to wandering trappers and Indians.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY

In the frozen north of the country, the Hudson Bay Company, chartered in 1670, had established itself in the territory around Hudson's Bay, then known as Rupertsland, and had developed an important fur trade. In 1838 the Company was granted the monopoly of all Canada to the west of Lake Winnipeg. Since its activities were hunting and trapping, and not agriculture, it discouraged agricultural settlers, and represented the interior of the country as barren and worthless, for settlement would have driven the wild animals northwards. But in 1856 gold was discovered in the Oregon region of the Pacific coast, and the discovery was followed by a rush of settlers, who went there to find gold, but in many cases stayed to establish farms. In 1858 the Hudson Bay Company handed this region over to the government, and it became an independent colony, under the name of British Columbia. In 1869 the Canadian government purchased the rest of the Company's territorial rights, and so acquired the vast and little-known region of the interior.

The next year, 1870, was an eventful one. Canada, having acquired such a vast extension of territory, at once set about the task of organising and exploring it. The new state of Manitoba was added to the Dominion, and the half-breed trappers of the Red River district, seeing their rights endangered by the opening out of the country, rebelled unsuccessfully, under the leadership of a French Canadian, Louis Riel. British Columbia agreed to enter the federation, and so, at a leap, the Dominion of Canada had extended its authority across the Continent to the Pacific.

THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES

A great area of unsettled country still remained in northern and central Canada. In 1880 all this was organised under a separate government as the North-West Territories. Much of the north was frozen, barren, and unfit for settlement, but the



DRIVING SPIKES DURING THE TRACK CONSTRUCTION IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
Canadian Pacific Photo

problem of opening up the central prairies, and of connecting British Columbia with eastern Canada was solved by the building of the Canadian-Pacific Railway.

The first development of Canada had been along the St Lawrence valley the second stage of its history centred round this railway. The building of it was a great speculative venture, for it was built before, and not after, the settlement of the country. The promise that it should be built was made to induce British Columbia to enter the federation (1870), but the work of building it was not completed till 1886. It made possible the development of central Canada into one of the great corn-growing regions of the world.

The development of the prairie country of central Canada was followed by the addition of new states, Alberta and Saskatchewan, to the federation, and by the division of the north-west territory into districts.

AUSTRALIA

The great explorers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries failed to discover Australia, for the continent lay well off the routes by which they crossed the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. It was not till 1606, when the Dutch sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, that its existence became known. The Dutch East India Company was too interested in its valuable trade with the Spice Islands to pay attention to their new discovery. A few ships touched there, but they did not find the tropical northern coast attractive. It was not till 1642 that a Dutch captain, Tasman, sailed round to the south of the continent to the island, now called Tasmania, which he christened Van Dieman's Land. The continent itself received the name of New Holland, but the Dutch did not continue its exploration, and little further interest was taken in it till the next century.

In the eighteenth century the British Admiralty sent Captain James Cook to carry out exploration in the south Pacific. Cook visited Australia three times (1768-1779), and mapped out almost the whole of its coastline. In 1770 he landed on the eastern coast, and claimed the region for Great Britain under the name of New South Wales. At first England, like Holland, took little interest in Australia. The period was that of the American War of Independence (1775-1783), and with the American colonies the English temporarily lost all faith in the value of

colonisation. It was felt that colonies, once firmly established, would inevitably break away from the mother country.

Their importance for trading purposes seemed discounted, when it was seen that British trade with America actually increased after the American colonies became free. Australia might have been altogether neglected if the idea of establishing a convict settlement in New South Wales had not been suggested.

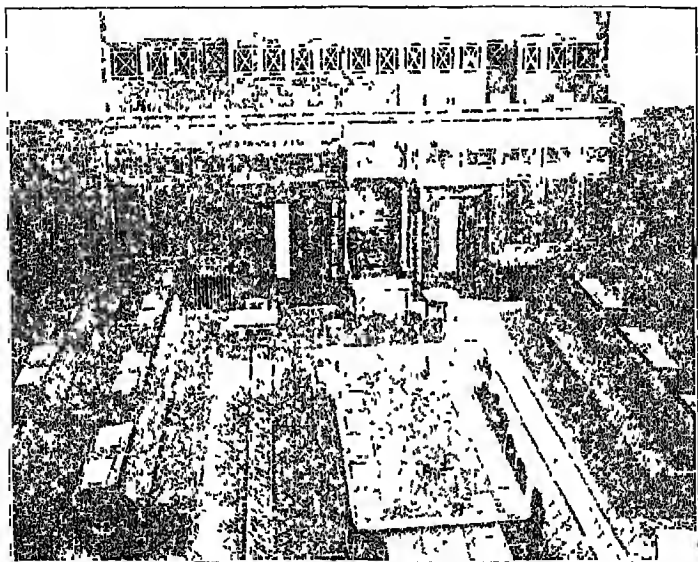
DEVELOPMENT OF NEW SOUTH WALES

The transportation of rebels and criminals to the colonies had been begun because of the great demand for labourers in the American settlements and the West Indies. It had proved to be a convenient method of disposing of them. But the American War of Independence closed the American colonies as a dumping ground for convicts, so it was decided to transport them to New South Wales instead. In 1787 Captain Phillip, of the Royal Navy, was sent out in command of the first batch of convicts, and of the marines who were to guard them. In this rather dubious way the colonisation of Australia began.

When the convict settlement had been established, Great Britain, occupied with the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, had no interest to spare for it, and it was left under the control of a succession of military and naval governors. Perched on the edge of an unexplored continent, far from the routes usually followed by shipping, it was terribly isolated. But the coastal plain of New South Wales is a rich agricultural district, and it was soon able to supply its own food. It was at first a disorderly little community, for both convicts and garrison gave trouble. There was also fighting with the Australian natives. These were the "Blackfellows," a primitive race, cruelly treated by the earlier colonists. They decreased rapidly in numbers, and disappeared into the less habitable parts of the country before the advance of white settlers.

The first person to realise that New South Wales might become something more than a convict settlement was Governor Macquarrie (1815-1821). He was a rather tyrannical military officer, who reduced both garrison and convicts to order by strong measures and was finally recalled because of the complaints which his methods aroused. Macquarrie's aim was to develop the settlement into a free colony. There were already

a number of free settlers, for it was customary to grant land to members of the garrison whose period of service was ended, and also to ex-convicts. In many cases these convicts were far from being criminals in the modern sense of the word. The harsh criminal code, and repressive government of the beginning of the nineteenth century made transportation a punishment for minor offences and even for those who advocated political changes. Macquarrie attempted to break down the social



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, CANBERRA

Australia House

barrier between ex-convict and free settler. He also encouraged the settlers to push their way across the Blue Mountains, which cut off the coastal plain from the interior of the country.

On the other side was discovered an open down country, excellent for pasturage. In 1797, Captain John Macarthur had begun the importation and scientific breeding of sheep, so the first step towards the development of Australia into a great wool-producing country had been taken. In 1817 it was arranged that the worst convicts should be sent to Tasmania, where a convict settlement had been established in 1804. New South

Wales was now well on the way to becoming a settlement of free colonists, though convicts were still transported there till 1840. In 1823 military government ended, and the colony was ruled by a Governor and Council.

OTHER AUSTRALIAN SETTLEMENTS

The development of New South Wales was followed by settlement in other parts of Australia. In 1826 convicts were sent to Moreton Bay, and their station, Brisbane, later became the chief port of Queensland. A convict settlement at Port Phillip (1834), later Melbourne, was the beginning of the colony of Victoria. But the fact that Australia was being made into a dumping ground for convicts discouraged emigration. In the thirties interest in the colonies was reviving, and the colonial reformers, led by Gibbon Wakefield, tried to encourage emigration to Australia as well as to Canada. In 1829 there was an attempt to found a free settlement on the Swan River, at Perth, on the western side of the continent, as far as possible from the convict communities. Though this was at first a failure, it led the way to the growth of the colony of Western Australia. A similar settlement established itself at Adelaide (1834), in South Australia, as a result of the explorations of Sturt (1826-1831), who had discovered the course of the Murray and the Darling, the only important Australian river system.

In the forties and fifties the transportation of convicts to the various Australian settlements almost ceased, though it was not finally abolished till 1865. In 1842 there was a beginning of responsible government with the establishment of a representative Assembly in New South Wales. Durham's Report on the Canadian situation (1839) had led to the adoption of the principle that English colonies could gradually become self-governing communities. In 1849-51 discoveries of gold were made in New South Wales and Victoria. There was a rush of settlers, and the existing administration was quite unable to deal with the disorder that followed. In 1854 therefore self-governing constitutions were granted to New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania.

As in Canada, these colonial governments were modelled upon that of Great Britain, with a Governor to represent the King, an Upper and Lower House. But the colonists themselves had been

given a large share in the task of deciding how they should be ruled, and then ideas, as was natural in such communities, were very democratic. Therefore Australian franchises were much wider than that of Great Britain had yet become. But things did not work very well at first, and it was some time before the state of affairs in Australia afforded much encouragement to advocates of democracy elsewhere. In 1859 responsible government was granted to Queensland and in 1890 to Western Australia.

PROGRESS AND FEDERATION

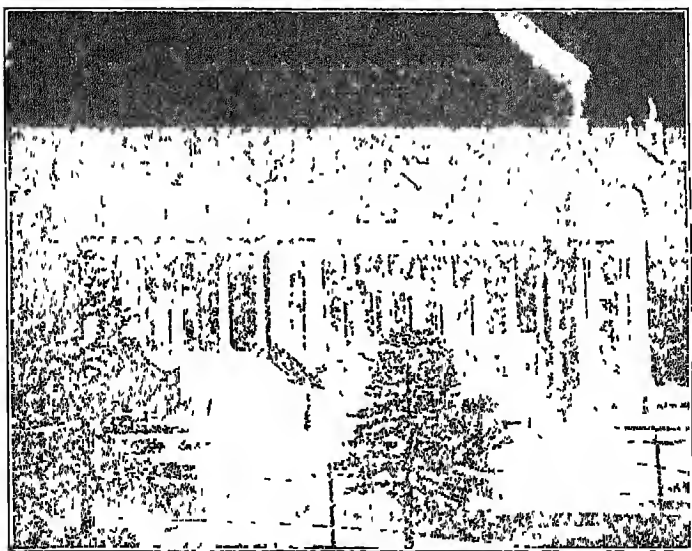
After this, Australian progress continued to be rapid and uneventful. Agriculture, sheep-farming and mining remained the chief occupations of the continent. The black native population became smaller in numbers, and more and more confined to the interior and north of the country. The colonies of Australia were white-man colonies, with a population almost exclusively British in origin. All were inclined to exclude settlers of other races. Common bonds of race, language, and interest held them together, though they were isolated communities, developing on independent lines.

Conditions in the various colonies were made different by the many types of climate and vegetation which existed between the tropical north and the Mediterranean climate of southern Australia. The settlement of the interior was hampered by the desert nature of much of the country and the lack of rain. In the eastern half of the continent, these difficulties have been overcome by artificial irrigation and the digging of artesian wells.

For a long time the federation of the Australian colonies on Canadian lines was discussed without anything being done. Then the rivalry and encroachments of European powers in the Far East made the Australians realise the value of a common policy. In 1900 the Australian Commonwealth Act established a federation of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, West Australia, and Tasmania. This federation was looser than that of Canada. The states kept more power in their own hands, and gave less to the federal government. Election to the federal Senate and House of Representatives was based on universal suffrage, and Australia continued to be very democratic and has carried out many experiments in state socialism.

NEW ZEALAND

In 1769, when Captain Cook was carrying out his exploration of the Australian coast, he also visited the islands of New Zealand. These, like his other discoveries, had little interest for the British governments of the period, which were altogether discouraged about colonisation. But other white men followed Cook, and a disorderly collection of white rovers and traders soon began to visit the northern island, with very harmful effects



High Commissioner for New Zealand

PARLIAMENT HOUSE, WELLINGTON

to its native population, the Maoris. In 1817 the Governor of New South Wales was ordered to make some attempt to keep these wanderers in order, though responsibility for New Zealand was still carefully disclaimed. At the same time English missionaries were beginning the work of converting the Maoris, and the revival of English interest in colonisation, under the influence of Wakefield, resulted in private schemes for settlement on the islands. In 1840 the British government was at last persuaded to annex New Zealand.

The immediate cause of this annexation was the trouble which had broken out between the white settlers and the Maoris. The Maoris were a warlike, but interesting and likeable race, and have played an important part in the history of the colony. In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi was concluded with them, and they acknowledged British sovereignty in return for the promise that their right to the ownership of their lands should be protected. Land was not to be sold by a chief to a settler, but only by an entire tribe to the government. But the New Zealand Company, promoted in England to carry out schemes for emigration to New Zealand, disregarded the treaty. Fighting followed which might have endangered the future of the colony, if it had not fallen under the government of Sir George Grey (1845).

Grey enforced the terms of the Waitangi treaty, and prevented settlers from obtaining land by unfair methods. He gained the confidence of the Maoris, and bought up tracts of the country on which settlers could be established. He also prevented the premature grant of self-government to the new colony, which would have left the colonists free to deal with the Maoris as they chose.

Meanwhile colonisation had been proceeding rapidly, and settlements had been established at Auckland, New Plymouth, Wellington, Nelson, Otago, and Canterbury. In 1852 Grey felt that the time had come when it was safe to grant responsible government to the colonists, and the six settlements became independent provinces, each with an elected council. These six provinces were federated under a Governor, Council, and House of Representatives. Votes were given to all who possessed a small property qualification, and this had the result of excluding most of the Maoris from the franchise.

The control of native affairs was left to the governor, and after the recall of Grey, the Maoris became discontented with their lack of freedom, and with the spread of white settlers over their country. A movement for independence began, and the long Maori Wars (1857-1871) threatened the existence of the colony. The Maoris seemed to be reverting to primitive savagery once more, though their courage and chivalry in warfare commanded respect. Regular troops proved ineffective in crushing them, and colonial methods of repression and confiscation only embittered them further, while the British

government grumbled at the expense of the struggle. Finally the war ended through weariness rather than from any other cause, and in 1871 the Maoris acknowledged defeat, and were appeased by a grant of representation in the Assembly, and by more considerate treatment from the white settlers.

The history of New Zealand now became one of peaceful development. In 1876 the division into provinces was abolished, and a single united state formed. In 1907 the country became a Dominion, and white men and Maoris seem to be working out a solution of their problem of existing side by side.

CHAPTER LII

INDIA AND AFRICA

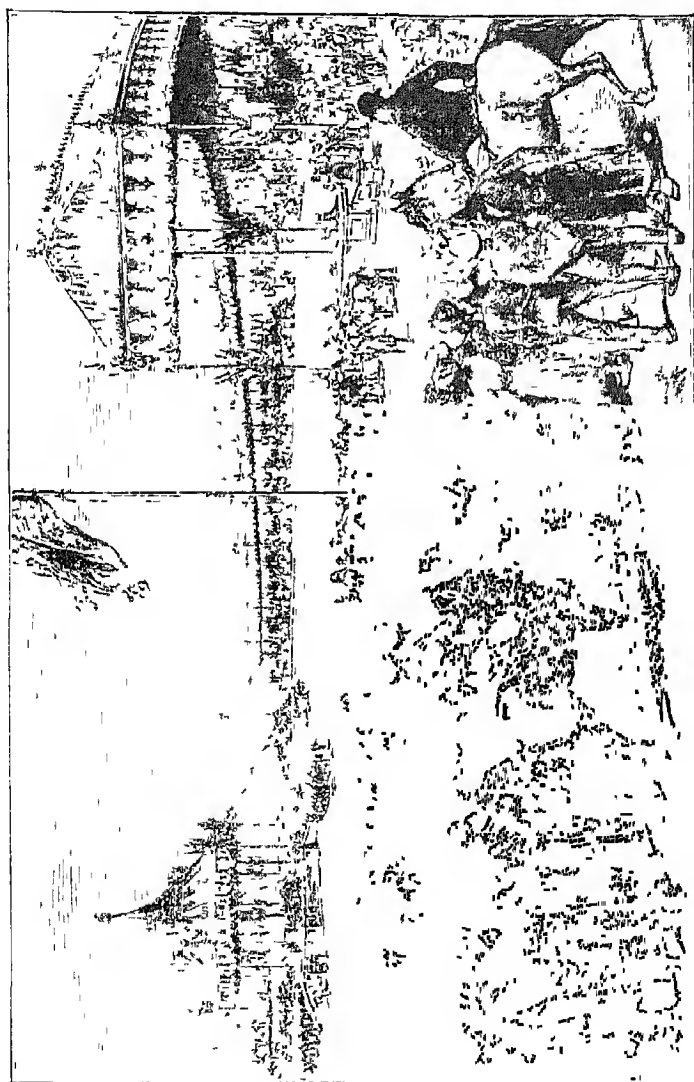
INDIA AND THE ACT OF 1858

Soon after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny the long career of the East India Company came to an end, and the British government accepted full responsibility for India. By the India Act of 1858 Indian affairs were put under the control of a Secretary for State, with a Council of experts to advise him. The Governor-General of India was transformed into a Viceroy of the Crown. He was assisted by an Executive Council, which controlled administration, and a Legislative Council whose assent was necessary for the passing of new laws. The Company's officials became the Indian Civil Service.

The new constitution did not involve any startling changes in the government of India. Long before the Company finally disappeared, it had both ceased to trade and had handed over the greater part of its political authority to Parliament. But the Mutiny, by shaking British confidence, had produced a change in the spirit of Indian administration. There was even less inclination than in the days of the Company to admit Indians to a share in their own government, and the country was governed efficiently but despotically by British officials. A social gulf, too, was opening between the Indians and their English rulers. Improved means of transport made it easier for soldiers and officials in India to keep in touch with England and to take their wives and families to India with them. The result was that English and Indians drew apart into independent social communities. For the same reasons the Indian authorities could be more closely controlled by the British government, and had less opportunity than before for independent action.

THE INDIAN EMPIRE

India was not at this time inclined to agitate for responsible government. As Dalhousie's policy of trying to bring the states of the Indian princes under direct British rule was abandoned,



PROCLAMATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA AS EMPRESS OF INDIA AT DELHI ON JANUARY 1ST, 1877

and the rights of the princes were guaranteed, the country once more settled down. The work of building roads, canals, and railways was continued, and efforts were made to deal with the problem of famine by a better organisation of Indian agriculture. Meanwhile, education was introducing a small section of Indians to western ideas, and so laying the foundation of their later demands for freedom. In 1861 they were granted a small measure of local self-government. But the general tendency seemed to be away from self-governing institutions and towards a benevolent despotism. This idea found expression in the assumption of the title of Empress of India by Queen Victoria (1877).

In procuring this title for the Queen, Lord Beaconsfield was giving rein to his own sense of the fascination and splendour of dominion over the East. India appealed to his imagination, as did the whole imperial idea, and his second ministry (1874-1880) began the most vigorous period of British imperialist sentiment. The safety of India was perhaps the most important factor in deciding Beaconsfield's foreign policy. It was the cause of his opposition to Russian ambitions, which showed itself not only at the Congress of Berlin, where he imposed a check on Russian ambitions in the Balkans, but also in the Second Afghan War (1878-1880).

RUSSIA AND THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR

During the nineteenth century the Russians were not only trying to extend their influence over the Balkans at the expense of Turkey, but were spreading rapidly across Siberia. In 1860, they established themselves on the Pacific at Vladivostok. This advance brought them near the frontiers of India, as Palmerston had foreseen when he predicted, in 1840, that Englishman and Russian would meet in central Asia.

The greater part of the northern Indian frontier was guarded by the impassable barrier of the Himalayas, but at its western end the mountain chain could be crossed by passes. It was through this gateway that Asiatic invaders had always entered India. To the north of the Indian frontier, at this point, lay the kingdom of Afghanistan, which commanded the passes into India. The disastrous course of the First Afghan War had made the British reluctant to interfere again in Afghanistan. But the

Russians, having completed their advance across Siberia, turned south, and by overcoming the tribes of Turkestan, advanced nearer and nearer to India. It was felt that the Afghans should not be permitted to fall under Russian influence. So when, in 1878, the year of Beaconsfield's check to Russia at Berlin, Shere Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan received a Russian mission and refused to receive a British one, British troops were again sent to Afghanistan.

The memory of the Khyber disaster (1847) caused the campaign to be very carefully planned. Three British forces, under the command of Browne, Stewart, and Roberts, advanced on the Amir's capital, Kabul. Russia gave Shere Ali no support, which suggests that the Russian danger to India may have been less great than Beaconsfield supposed. The Amir fled, and died soon afterwards. The British withdrew, after forcing his successor, Yakub Khan, to accept a British resident and to hand over to Britain the control of his relations with foreign countries.

Soon afterwards the Resident was murdered, and it became necessary to send Stewart and Roberts against Kabul once more (1880). At first things went badly. A British force was defeated at Maiwand and shut up in Kandahar, which meant that the Afghans had once more dealt a tremendous blow to British military prestige in the East. But Roberts relieved Kandahar by a remarkable three weeks march from Kabul. The Afghan army broke up and vanished, and the British were able to impose a new Amir, Abdurrahman, upon Afghanistan, and to restore their influence over the country.

In 1885 a new alarm followed for, having completed their conquest of Turkestan, the Russians occupied Pendjeh on the Afghan border. Gladstone, though far from being an imperialist like Beaconsfield, was seriously alarmed, and it was obvious that England was prepared to go to war over the matter. Russia made no further advance, and from this time the Czar abandoned all designs upon India and began to interest himself in the Far East instead. This change of Russian policy not only led up to the Russo-Japanese rivalry in Manchuria but, by permitting British suspicion of Russia gradually to die down, paved the way for the development of the Anglo-Russian friendship of the twentieth century.

THE DEMAND FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT .

Meanwhile, under the influence of western ideals and education, the Indians were beginning to desire self-government. The war, divisions, and anarchy that followed the decline of the Mogul empire had at first left them thankful for the peace given by the domination of a single strong power. But with peace and unity came the opportunity for a national revival. The Anglo-Indians were inclined to regard the Indians as an inferior race. This made the Indians inclined to assert their own equality by upholding the merits of their native culture and traditions. The researches of western scholars helped to inspire interest in the past, and a revival of Hinduism took place, associated with a desire for both religious and social reforms. At the same time western ideas were filling the mind of the educated Indian. Despotism no longer seemed natural to him, and he desired for India the same responsible government as Britain was granting to her colonies. This movement for social reform and for self-government expressed itself in the establishment of the Indian National Congress (1885).

At the same time British ideas concerning Indian government were becoming more liberal. Under the rule of Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin, and Lord Lansdowne, attempts were made to give Indians some share in their own government by establishing local boards and municipal councils. These, though elected on a very narrow franchise and entrusted with little responsibility, were an attempt to introduce something like English local government into India. Also British officials were given advisory councils with Indian members.

But these experiments did not work very well. The Anglo-Indian civil servant resented native interference with his work, and the advisory councils were often meddling and inefficient. Lord Curzon (1898-1908), who was a very efficient, though autocratic, viceroy, was opposed to responsible government for India. He followed a policy of strengthening the bonds between Britain and the Indian princes, and giving British India good, though despotic government.

But, in 1909, the Liberal Secretary for India, Lord Morley, and the Viceroy, Lord Minto, drew up and passed the Indian Councils Act. This gave Indians a majority on the advisory councils, and allowed the Indian members of these councils to

be elected, on a very narrow franchise, instead of being chosen by the government. This meant that India received a narrow measure of representation, but, as advisory councils could only give opinions, British officials were not under their control and remained the real governors of the country. Before the war, Indian self-government did not advance further than this right to elect members to advisory councils.

AFRICA AND THE SLAVE TRADE

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the interior of Africa was still unexplored by Europeans. Their few settlements, scattered along the coast of the continent, were no more than centres for the slave trade, or ports at which ships could stop for provisions on their long voyage to the East. Even north Africa which had formed part of the Roman Empire, had long been cut off from Europe by Mohammedan conquest. Its Barbary pirates still attacked the shipping of the Mediterranean, and though its rulers were practically independent, it still formed part of the Turkish empire.

Nothing was known of Africa south of the Sahara until the fifteenth century. Then the explorations of the Portuguese and the discovery of the Cape route to India made Europeans familiar with the African coast. For a time the Portuguese controlled the trade of the Indian Ocean and established ports in Africa. In the seventeenth century when the English and Dutch had become rivals for eastern trade, the Dutch made a port of call for their India fleet at the Cape of Good Hope.

England's first African interest was the profitable slave trade, begun by John Hawkins in Elizabeth's reign. This was carried on between the west coast of Africa, the "Guinea Coast," and the West Indian and American colonies. In Charles II's reign the Royal African Company was chartered to deal with this trade. Bases were established on the Guinea Coast which developed into the small West African colonies of Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast. The slave trade, of which Liverpool and Bristol were the centres, was organised on a system known as the "Great Triangle." This consisted of a voyage to Africa with goods to be exchanged for slaves, the "middle passage" with slaves across the Atlantic, and the return voyage to England with a cargo of West Indian or American goods.

Thus enormous profits were made. The trade played an important part in international relations, and the right to supply slaves to the Spanish colonies was regarded as one of the most valuable British gains by the Treaty of Utrecht.

BRITISH AND BOERS IN CAPE COLONY

With the abolition of the slave trade (1807) England lost interest in Africa. When, by the settlement that followed the downfall of Napoleon, she obtained Cape Colony from the Dutch, she did not make any effort to expand her new colony. The country around the Cape was already occupied by Dutch settlers, the Boers. As most of it was grazing land, the Boer farmers led a rough independent life in scattered farms, and isolation had left them deeply attached to their own religion and customs. English settlers were sent out to Algoa Bay, on the east of the colony. Dutch and English did not mix, but the fact that both were menaced by the warlike Kaffir tribes, who held the interior of the country, united them for defence, and the colony was at first contented and peaceable.

Unfortunately English and Boers did not continue to agree. In England the Methodist and Evangelical religious revivals, had inspired a new interest in the native races of Africa, and an outburst of activity for their conversion. Missionaries went to the Cape to work among the Kaffirs, and were shocked by the attitude of the Boer farmers to the African natives. The Boers, with strong religious convictions based on the Old Testament, saw themselves as a chosen people in Africa with every right to make the native races their servants. This attitude was strengthened by the hostility born of years of fighting against warlike Kaffir tribes. They not only made the natives their slaves, but treated them harshly, and often cruelly. The missionaries, full of sympathy for the victims of oppression, overlooked the isolated and dangerous position of Boer farmers, the ferocity of many African tribes, and the fact that the English themselves had only recently abandoned the horrors of the slave trade. They denounced the Boers vigorously, creating a feeling of hostility between them and the English.

The home government held the same humanitarian views as the missionaries. In 1833 the abolition of slavery throughout the British empire deprived the Boers of their native slaves. The

measure was an excellent one, and as compensation was paid to slave owners, the British public felt that it had involved no unfairness. The Boers thought otherwise. They had no moral objection to slavery, and felt that they had been forcibly deprived of their property for a payment of not more than half its market value. They were by now thoroughly discontented with British rule. When the British government refused to give them protection against their native enemies by annexing the land of the Kosa Kaffirs on the east of Cape Colony, they began to leave British territory in large numbers.

THE "GREAT TREK" AND THE BOER REPUBLICS

The movement of Boers out of Cape Colony, known as the "Great Trek" (1836), continued for several years. The emigrants crossed the Orange and Vaal rivers, driving the natives before them, and settled in the areas which later became the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The British did not oppose the departure of the Boers, but considered that they were still, in theory, British subjects. When a number of them crossed the Drakensburg Mountains into the coastal region of Natal, Natal was formally annexed (1843), in spite of Boer protests.

But British policy with regard to the other Boer settlements was undecided and variable. The British government did not want to undertake new responsibilities in country where they were opposed by hostile Boers and warlike native tribes. African colonies were considered valueless, and the enthusiasts for emigration, who were developing Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, took little interest in them. But in Africa itself, the missionaries wanted British protection for their native converts and the colonial authorities wanted to extend British power. In 1847 Sir Harry Smith brought the Orange Free State under British authority.

But the Transvaal Boers remained hostile, and Lord Aberdeen's government, harassed by Kaffir wars and Boer opposition, was eager to withdraw. In 1852 the independence of the Transvaal was acknowledged by the Sand River Convention. In 1854 the British withdrew from the Orange Free State by the Convention of Bloemfontein, although its inhabitants were unwilling to lose British protection, and remained friendly

towards Britain. Thus, at the end of the first half of the nineteenth century, two British colonies, Cape Colony and Natal, and two independent Boer republics, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, existed in South Africa.



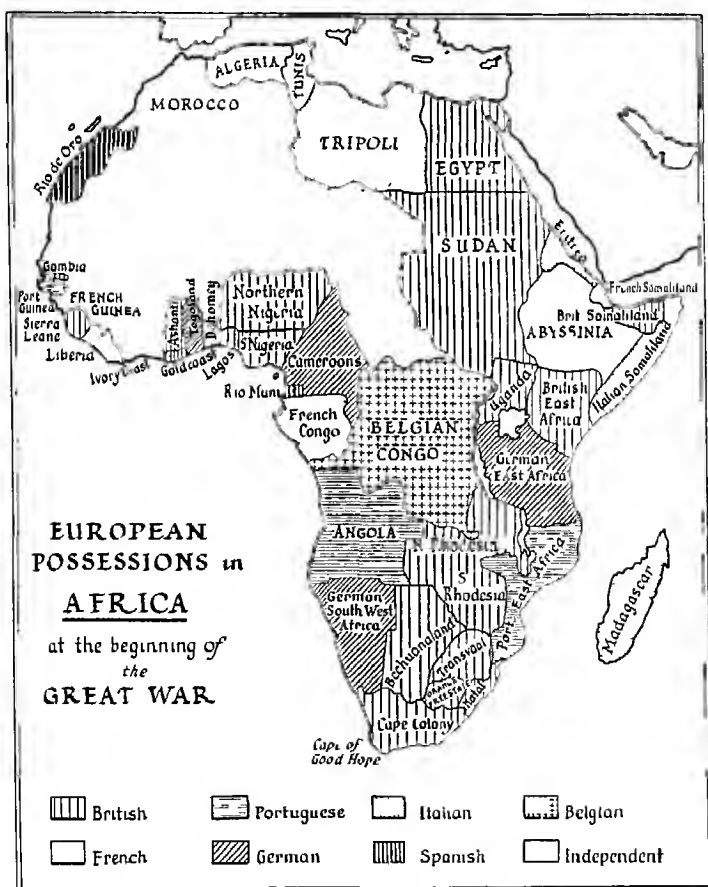
THE VOORTREKKERS
From the mural painting in S. Africa House

BRITISH AND FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA

During the second half of the nineteenth century Great Britain lost her indifference to possessions in Africa. In North Africa she became involved in Egyptian affairs, and entered upon

a period of colonial rivalry with France. The exploration of the interior of the continent led Europe to realise the possibilities of exploring it. The "scramble for Africa" followed, which had far-reaching effects upon the relations of the European powers with each other.

Under the influence of Disraeli British "imperialism" revived in the seventies, and obtained a strong hold upon popular imagination. Writers and poets sang the praises of the



AFRICA IN 1914

British Empire South African missionaries, who had regarded the extension of British authority as a means of protecting the African natives, were succeeded by Cecil Rhodes, who had a sincere belief in the value of British government to native peoples. Rhodes added two new provinces to the empire. Chartered companies were once more founded to develop newly discovered regions. Finally, the discovery of gold in the Transvaal caused the quarrel with the Boers that developed into the South African War.

France was the first European power to seize part of North Africa in the nineteenth century, for the French had dreams of reviving the North African empire of Rome. In 1830 she annexed Algiers, the home of the Barbary pirates, and gradually subdued the Algerine chiefs. In the hope of extending her influence over Egypt and Syria, she supported Mehemet Ali, the Albanian adventurer who had obtained control of Egypt after the failure of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition. Mehemet was able, though cruel, and he not only governed Egypt efficiently, but also conquered the Sudan and built Khartoum. It was only the energetic policy of Palmerston (1840) that prevented him from conquering the dominions of his overlord, the Sultan of Turkey.

The quarrel of England and France over Mehemet Ali foreshadowed their later rivalry in Egypt. Mehemet's successors were much less capable than he. Ismail, who became Khedive of Egypt in 1867, was genuinely interested in the westernisation of his country, and planned railways, harbours, and a telegraph system. But he was extravagant, and borrowed so much money from European financiers that he became bankrupt.

THE OCCUPATION OF EGYPT

The Khedive's lack of money had important results. France had been maintaining her interest in Egyptian affairs, and a Frenchman, De Lesseps, undertook the task of making the Suez Canal, which was completed in 1869. The Canal opened a new route to India by sea, and for this reason Palmerston had opposed its construction. Disraeli saw in the Khedive's need of money an opportunity to obtain control of the Canal for Britain, and bought Ismail's shares in the Company that owned

it (1875) Ismail's difficulties did not only give Britain control of the Suez Canal. When the Khedive became bankrupt, the European financiers who had lent him money found themselves likely to incur heavy losses. Therefore France and England together took control of the country's finances with the consent of the other great powers (1879). Ismail was deposed by his overlord, the Sultan of Turkey, and replaced by a new Khedive, Tewfik.

To take control of the finances of a country is practically to govern it, and the Khedive Tewfik was little more than a puppet under the guidance of France and England. This "Dual Control" so irritated the Egyptians that a nationalist rising occurred, led by Arabi Pasha, a colonel in the Egyptian army. Arabi established a military dictatorship, and riots occurred in Alexandria, in which many Europeans were killed, and the rest driven out. The French refused to take action, but Gladstone's government, usually pacific, acted vigorously. Alexandria was bombarded and Sir Garnet Wolseley, sent against Arabi with a British army, completely defeated him at Tel-el-Kebir (1882). England then, to the great annoyance of France, took sole control of Egyptian affairs. Gladstone, who disapproved of attempts to control other nations, assured Europe that the British occupation of Egypt was only temporary.

Actually, Egypt remained under British control for the next forty years, although the nominal ruler was still the Khedive. The British occupation was beneficial, for Lord Cromer, the British representative in the country (1883-1907) carried out important measures of reconstruction. British engineers were employed to devise and carry out schemes for the irrigation of the country and railways were built. Egyptian prosperity so greatly increased that, although the rate of taxation had been lowered, the revenue was doubled. Slavery was abolished, and the Egyptian peasant was freed from the oppression by which work and taxes had previously been extracted from him. An efficient Egyptian army under British officers, was trained. But after Cromer's departure the administration declined and a nationalist movement arose among the Egyptians, who had always resented British neglect of their national customs and prejudices.

THE MAHDI GORDON IN THE SUDAN

The occupation of Egypt did not only involve the hostility of France, but also led England into difficulties in the Sudan. The Khedive Ismail had added fresh annexations to Mehemet Ali's conquests in that region. The Sudanese hated Egyptian rule, and revolted under a religious leader, known as the "Mahdi." By the time at which the British assumed control of Egypt, this rising had developed into a "holy war" on a serious scale, and the Egyptian garrisons in the Sudan were in great peril. A force, commanded by Hicks, sent against the Mahdi, was completely destroyed (1883). Gladstone's government, pacifically inclined, and opposed to the acquisition of further territory, determined that, when the Egyptian troops in the Sudan had been rescued, the country must be evacuated.

Unfortunately Gladstone chose General Gordon to carry out this task. Gordon was a professional soldier, who had made a reputation in the employ of the Chinese government. He had then been for some time employed by Ismail to govern the Sudan, where he had done valuable work in checking the slave trade. Gladstone chose him to carry out the evacuation because of his knowledge of the country, but the choice was rather obviously unwise. Gordon did not wish the region in which he had worked to be abandoned, and was known to be inclined to act on his own initiative.

Once in Khartoum, he disregarded his orders, and prepared to attack the Mahdi instead of leaving the Sudan to him, with the result that Gordon and his Egyptian troops were besieged in Khartoum. Gladstone was reluctant to send help, because he regarded the whole incident as an attempt to force the hand of the government. When troops were finally sent to the Sudan under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, they arrived to find Khartoum taken, and Gordon already dead (1885). Gordon's courage appealed to the English, and he became a national hero. The Gladstone administration was denounced for failing to save him, and the re-conquest of the Sudan was demanded. Gladstone refused to give way, though the unpopularity of his policy helped to cause his defeat at the next election. The Sudan was evacuated and remained independent till the nineties.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON AT KHARTOUM

Gough

ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY THE CONGO

An important result of European colonisation in Africa was its effect upon the relations of the European powers with each other. The African ambitions of Europe were skilfully used by Bismarck in his policy of keeping France isolated and Germany the centre of a system of European alliances. So long as Great Britain and France were rivals in Africa it was certain that they would not become allies in Europe, so Bismarck encouraged the English to occupy Egypt in spite of French opposition (1882). He also suggested to France her occupation of Tunis (1881) to the east of her colony of Algeria. He knew that Italy wanted Tunis, and that, by this means, he was breaking up the old friendship between Italy and France, with the result that, in 1882, Italy joined Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance.

In the second half of the nineteenth century European knowledge of the interior of Africa rapidly increased. Speke and Baker had discovered the source of the Nile. Livingstone had explored the Zambesi river and the lakes to the north of it, and had reached the head waters of the Congo (1850-1870). Stanley, carrying on Livingstone's work, had explored the Congo basin until he reached the sea. He also advanced beyond the lakes to the north of the Zambesi, and discovered Lake Victoria Nyanza.

England, still not very interested in the acquisition of new colonies in Africa, neglected Stanley. It was King Leopold II. of Belgium who financed his Congo explorations, and formed the Congo Association to exploit them, with the result that the Congo Free State was established by international agreement (1885). By disregarding his engagements with the other powers, Leopold brought the Congo completely under Belgian control. In 1907 he handed it over to his country and it became the Belgian Congo.

GERMAN COLONIES

Meanwhile German merchants were discontented with Bismarck's policy of standing outside the scramble for Africa, and encouraging other powers to occupy themselves there while he controlled Europe. In the eighties therefore Germany suddenly adopted a vigorous colonial policy. In 1884 the

Germans annexed the Cameroons, Togoland, and German South-west Africa, between Cape Colony and the Portuguese colony of Angola. In 1885 they obtained German East Africa, thus acquiring a colonial empire in two years.

These colonies were annexed peacefully because the British, whose African interests were involved, gave way to German demands, in spite of a good deal of provocation. Britain was still engaged in her colonial rivalry with France, who was rapidly spreading her authority over north-west Africa and the two powers were racing each other to obtain control of the Niger basin. In spite of the unhealthiness of the region, British merchants had established a valuable trade there. Their work was continued by the Royal Niger Company, chartered in 1886, which bought out the claims of the French. In 1899 the British government established a Protectorate over Nigeria. In the twentieth century Lord Lugard stamped out cannibalism and slave-raiding, and began an interesting experiment in governing the native tribes through their own chiefs.

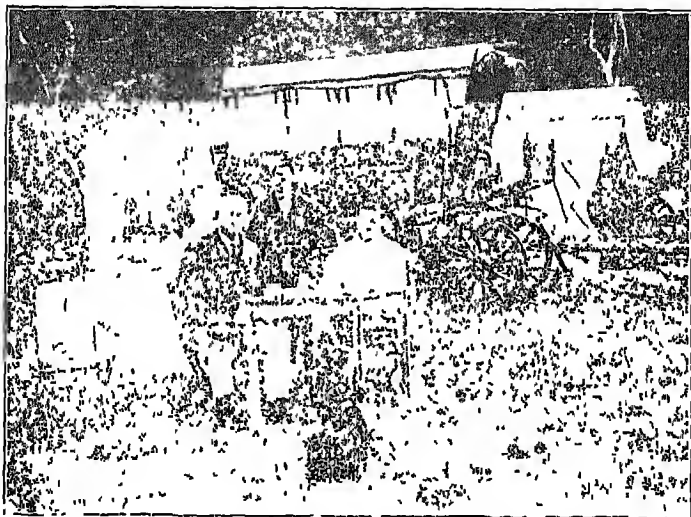
THE PARTITIONING OF AFRICA THE SUDAN

The situation in Africa was now becoming very complicated, and threatened to lead to quarrels in Europe. In addition to the annexations made by Great Britain, France and Germany, Italy was establishing claims in Eritrea and Somaliland. Moreover Spain had obtained a colony in north-west Africa, and Portugal was extending the boundaries of her ancient African possessions. So in 1890-91 the European powers divided up the continent by a series of treaties which settled their respective spheres of influence for the moment, though the work of partitioning out Africa was by no means ended. The boundary between the territory of the British East Africa Company, chartered in 1888, and German East Africa was fixed. Soon afterwards British East Africa became a Protectorate (1894). A British Protectorate had already been established (1893) over Uganda, the inland region opened out by Stanley's exploration of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

Imperialism was rapidly gaining ground in Great Britain, and the French, who were extending their rule across the Sahara, were solemnly warned against attempting to gain control of the upper Nile (1895). The British in Egypt found that their

Bechuanaland, between the Transvaal and German South-west Africa, and so to secure a road to the north

He then set about the task of securing the land north of the Transvaal, where the Boers were already trying to obtain concessions from Lobengula, the King of the Matabele. In 1888 the South African Company was chartered to develop this region, and its settlement was begun immediately. Trouble with the Matabele followed, and when they had been conquered the Company took over the government of their territory, to which



High Commissioner for S. Rhodesia

CECIL RHODES ON THE VELDT

the name of Rhodesia was given (1894). About the same time settlement still further north was begun, in the tropical region, now known as Northern Rhodesia. In Southern Rhodesia the rule of the Company lasted till 1923, when it was abolished, and the colony obtained self-government.

THE JAMESON RAID

The growth of British possessions in South Africa left the Boer Republics almost encircled by British territory, and this encouraged the Uitlanders in the Transvaal to try to overthrow the Kruger government. In this they had the sympathy of

Rhodes, who, as Prime Minister of Cape Colony, as the controlling influence of the South African Company in Rhodesia, and as one of the gold-mining magnates of the Rand, was the most important man in South Africa. A plot was made for a rising in the Transvaal, which was to be supported by an invasion by the troops of the South African Company on the northern border. But the plan completely miscarried, and the rising did not take place. When Rhodes' associate, Dr Jameson, rashly invaded the Transvaal with a small force of 500 troops he was easily captured by the Boers, and was handed over to the British government for trial.

This Jameson raid (1895) had disastrous results. It discredited Rhodes, and undid all that he had previously achieved in encouraging friendly relations between English and Boers. It led the Boers of the Orange Free State, and of Cape Colony to sympathise with those of the Transvaal. Also it placed the British government in a false position. There were suggestions that the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, had been aware of the plan and these were not very effectively repudiated at the official enquiry into the incident.

The raid had a bad effect on relations between England and Germany. The Kaiser, who had already made a parade of sympathy with the Boers, now sent a telegram of congratulation to President Kruger on the failure of the raid. This provoked strong anti-German feeling in England.

THE BOER WAR

British opinion was divided on the subject of the Uitlanders, but in 1899 the imperialist Colonial Secretary, Chamberlain, answered their appeal for support. He instructed Sir Alfred Milner to open negotiations with President Kruger to secure their admission to the citizenship of Transvaal. When Kruger refused this, the British claim to suzerainty over the Boers was again revived. It was thought that Kruger would certainly give way, and when he issued an ultimatum (1899) instead, he found the British government unprepared for war. All Europe, and a section of opinion in Britain sympathised with the small Boer state, against which all the weight of British power was being used. But actually the Boers proved to be formidable opponents. They were well armed, and their troops greatly outnumbered the British forces then available in South Africa.

The Orange Free State supported the Transvaal. The British, who had expected an easy victory, were outgeneralled, and disconcerted by the Boers' rapid action. Mafeking and Kimberley were besieged, and an invasion of Natal was followed by the siege of Ladysmith. The British suffered various reverses, and Buller was defeated at Colenso and Spion Kop. The battles were not really important, but they destroyed British assurance of rapid success, and created more national depression than now seems to be justified by the seriousness of the reverses.

The generals on the spot had failed to cope with the situation, so in 1900 Roberts and Kitchener were sent out with additional forces to take command. Roberts saw that the best way to force the Boers to withdraw from British territory was by a direct advance on the Orange Free State, which would threaten their communications. This strategy rapidly proved successful. A Boer army had to surrender to Kitchener at Paardeberg, and Kimberley and Ladysmith were relieved. Roberts took Bloemfontein, the capital of the Orange Free State, and then invaded the Transvaal. The relief of Mafeking, which had been defended by Colonel Baden-Powell, caused great excitement in England. In June Roberts entered Pretoria, and the Transvaal was in British hands.

The Boer republics were now annexed, and the war seemed to be at an end. But all over the country Boer irregular forces, under Smuts, Botha, De Wet, and De La Rey, continued to resist. Their rapid movements and the wide area of country over which they ranged made it difficult for the British generals to deal with the situation. Finally, Kitchener divided the country into sections by lines of blockhouses, and methodically cleared it. The work necessitated the burning of farms and the herding of Boer women and children in concentration camps. This manner of warfare was inglorious and unpleasant, and made Great Britain unpopular in Europe. It was not till 1902 that the Boers admitted defeat and the Peace of Vereeniging was concluded. If the struggle had been bitter, the peace terms were wise and moderate. The Boers acknowledged themselves to be British subjects, but their states were promised self-government, and the British government granted a sum of money to help in the restoration of the Boer farms that had been destroyed.

The Liberal government which came into power in 1905 immediately granted the self-government promised to the Boers.

Though the measure was denounced at the time as rash, it proved to be the basis of Anglo-Boer friendship. In 1909 the Union of South Africa was established the states included in it being the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal. The



High Commissioner for S. Rhodes via
EXCAVATING RHODES' TOMB

Union was not federal like those of Canada and Australia, but a Parliamentary union like that of Great Britain. It settled the political problem of Englishman and Boers in South Africa, but has left that of white men and natives still to be solved.

CHAPTER LIII

ENGLAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The nineteenth century was a period of great and rapid changes. When it opened, England was still a mainly agricultural country, and the age of machinery was only beginning. There were no railways, and traffic had to move along the roads. There was no telegraph, gas for lighting, telephone, or electricity, and the postal service was too expensive to be used by poor people. Ships were still built of wood and propelled by sails.

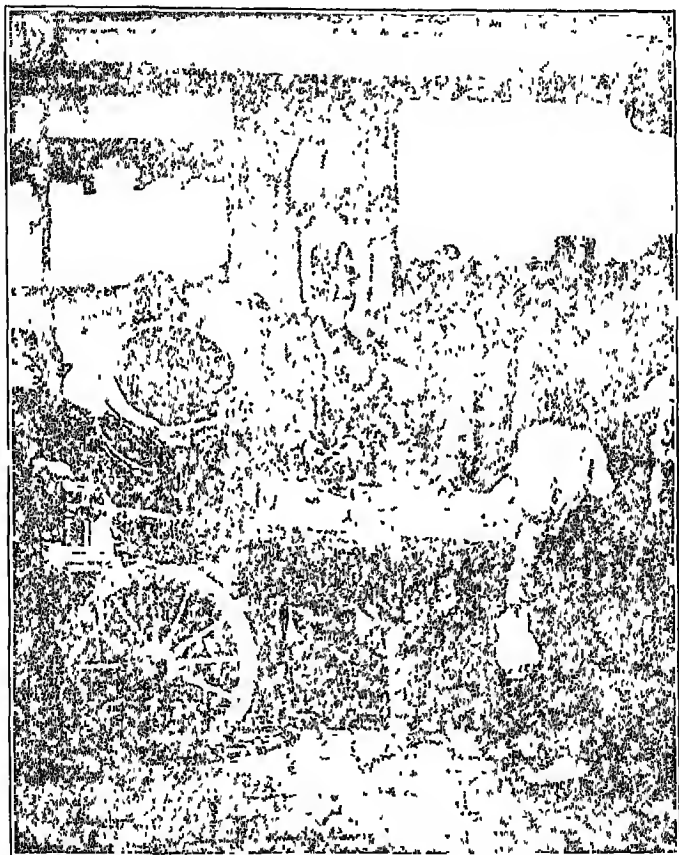
Local government was still in the hands of the squires in the country, and, as a rule, of a small body of the wealthier citizens in the towns. Parliament was controlled by the aristocracy, and most people had no voice in its election. There was no police force, so riots were frequent, and there was no means of dealing with them except by summoning the aid of the local militia. The criminal code was so harsh that people were still hanged or transported for small offences. The eighteenth-century view that there was a divine, or natural, order in society as it existed, that it was the business of the poor to be content with their lot, still persisted. It was thought that all reforming movements tended to upheavals like the French Revolution, and to general anarchy. But industrial changes, which gave poor men a chance of making a fortune, were already upsetting this comfortable attitude, and paving the way for nineteenth-century individualism.

FARMING AND REPEAL OF THE CORN LAWS

In the nineteenth century the process of enclosing the common land for farms, and so turning England from a land of open fields into one of hedges continued and was practically completed. The work of the eighteenth-century pioneers in stock-breeding had taught farmers the value of pedigree sheep and cattle, so the standard of flocks and herds continued to improve. Farming had become altogether more scientific. More efficient methods

of drainage were used, and artificial manures were employed, in addition to the old rotation of crops, to keep the land fertile

Scientific farming meant that the farmer had to invest more money in his land and his live stock. The large farmer with



LONDON IN THE '70'S—THE CHEAP FISHMONGER

capital had a great advantage over the man with a small farm and little spare money, especially as prices varied, and small farmers were often ruined by a fall in the value of their crops. In the first part of the century improved methods did not bring

great prosperity to farming. But they secured an increase in the amount of food grown, and so provided for the rapidly increasing population.

Until 1846 the Corn Laws protected English farming from foreign competition, and it was predicted that their repeal would ruin agriculture. In the fifties and sixties this prophecy proved incorrect, and agriculture was more flourishing than before. But during this period the supply of foreign wheat was restricted first by the war with Russia in the Crimea, and then by the American Civil War. In the seventies and eighties the importation of wheat from America, and the opening out of the Canadian prairies exposed British farmers to disastrous competition. The price of wheat fell, and sheep and cattle became more profitable than corn, so much wheatland was put under grass. In the eighties and nineties the import of beef from the Argentine and of mutton from New Zealand and Australia exposed the farmer to yet another form of competition, and so revived the arguments for the protection of agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS · VILLAGE LIFE

During the eighteenth century the condition of farm labourers had become worse, and, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enclosures and improved methods of farming led to the disappearance of the small independent cultivators, the yeomen, who had played an important part in English country life. This left country people divided into the comparatively prosperous farmers and the labourers, whose condition at the beginning of the nineteenth century was wretched. Labourers' wages were so low that they were regularly supplemented by poor relief. The result was both to pauperise the labourer, and to burden the farmer with a heavy poor rate.

The Poor Law (1834), by stopping outdoor relief to the able-bodied, ended pauperisation, but left the labourer with no refuge but the work-house, when old or out of work. The result of wretched conditions was that the country worker either drifted to the towns or became an unskilled worker in railway construction, and as farm labourers became scarcer, they were better paid. In the last half of the century their wages were about twelve or thirteen shillings a week. In 1883 they obtained votes,

and so were better able to call the attention of the government to their grievances

The nineteenth century saw a decline in the importance of village life, and a great change in local institutions. At the beginning of the century the village was still a rather independent community, usually with its squire and clergyman, as magistrates in control of local affairs, and with its cottage industries of spinning, weaving, and knitting. With the increased use of machinery it lost its manufactures, and village people became altogether dependent on their agricultural earnings. But in the country local government remained under the control of the magistrates till the County Councils Act (1888) and the Parish Councils Act (1894) placed it in the hands of representative bodies.

MECHANISATION OF INDUSTRY PUBLIC HEALTH

During the nineteenth century England was transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial one. The use of machinery and steam power in manufacture made it necessary for workers to be gathered into factories, instead of carrying on their occupation in small workshops, or in their own cottages. Industry became less widely spread over the countryside, and more concentrated in towns, which grew rapidly as houses were hastily built to accommodate the people who flocked there. In the past the poor had always lived under bad and insanitary conditions, both in towns and in many of the country cottages. The streets of new houses run up by speculative builders in the new industrial centres were jerry-built, unattractive, and crowded.

Often the whole condition of the town was bad. Working class areas were undrained, had no water supply, and no arrangements for collecting refuse, which was thrown into the streets. The result of such conditions was epidemics of typhoid and cholera, and a high death-rate. In the middle of the century a Public Health Act was passed (1848), which was a first step towards later measures for the improvement of sanitation and housing.

The industry in which machinery most rapidly replaced handwork was the cotton manufacture, which had had its beginnings in the eighteenth century and was still young and progressive. The older and more conservative woollen trade was more slow to adopt the new machines, and hand-weaving

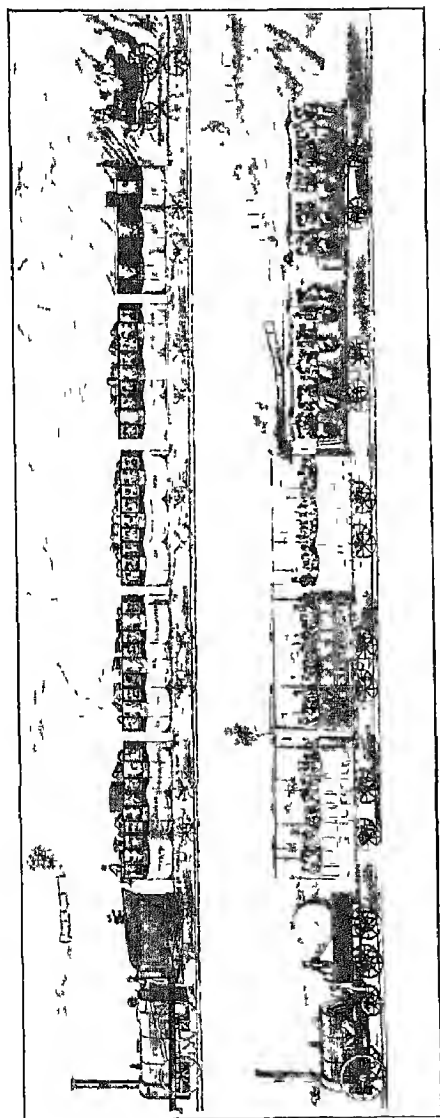
was not superseded by power looms till the middle of the nineteenth century. When machinery came into general use and was made of iron instead of wood, the iron trade became more and more important. Railway construction created a great demand for iron, machines were invented to make other machines, and the modern engineering industries were created. In the second half of the century steel began to replace iron after the discovery of the Bessemer process. The market for coal increased, as it was needed for iron-smelting and steam power.

RAILWAYS AND STEAMSHIPS

While goods still had to be carried from one place to another by road, canals, and sailing ships, the slowness of the means of transport was a check on production, for it is useless to produce more goods than can be removed to their markets for sale. The earliest railways built were short stretches of lines along which heavy goods could be drawn in wagons by horses. These were used before the end of the eighteenth century, and, at the beginning of the nineteenth a steam locomotive was constructed by a Cornish engineer. Soon afterwards George Stephenson began to experiment in the construction of engines. In 1825 railways as we know them began with the building of a line between Stockton and Darlington, on which locomotive engines were used and passengers carried. In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened, and Stephenson's "Rocket," by showing that a train could be drawn at a speed of thirty-six miles an hour, proved that the railway promised a rapidity of transport that had never been known before.

At first the new invention had been regarded with the suspicion and dislike which new things are apt to arouse. But, once its worth had been firmly established, the expansion of the railway system over the country was rapid. In the forties there was a great boom in railway stock, and a disastrous period of speculation, during which company promoters fleeced investors so badly that there was a financial crisis, and a temporary check to railway construction.

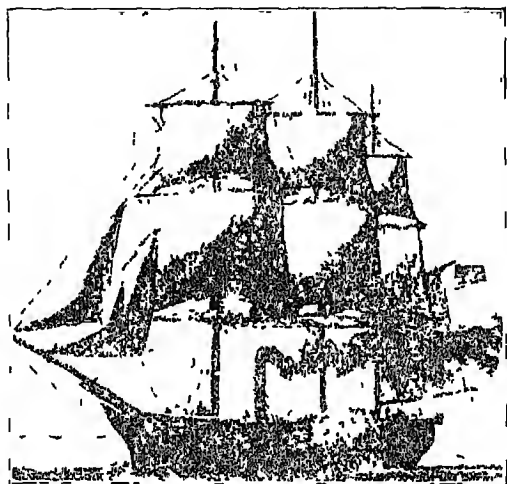
Steamships appeared before railways and were used on both American and English rivers in the earlier years of the nineteenth century. In 1819 an American-built ship, the "Savannah" crossed the Atlantic, partly under steam. In 1827 the



Reynolds

TRAVELLING ON THE LIVERPOOL AND MANCHESTER RAILWAY

"Cunacoa," built in Dover, crossed entirely under steam from Rotterdam to the West Indies. At the same time iron ships were beginning to be built, and in 1843 paddle wheels were replaced by screws. In 1845 the Cunard Company had begun a regular service across the Atlantic. But it was not till the seventies that steamships began to be built with a high tonnage, and in considerable numbers, and to replace sailing vessels.



THE "SAVANNAH," THE FIRST STEAM SHIP TO CROSS THE ATLANTIC (1819)

Owing to shortage of fuel part of the "Savannah's" voyage was accomplished under sails. The first ship to cross the Atlantic entirely under steam was the "Royal William" in 1833.

Scientific discoveries and inventions appeared rapidly in the later years of the century. In 1876 the telephone was invented. The dynamo, the turbine, and the internal combustion engine were invented, and the first motor car was constructed (1887). Chemical research began to be applied to industry. Biological research revolutionised the treatment of diseases. The industrial revolution that brought machinery, steam power, factories, railways, and large towns, was followed by a scientific revolution.

FREE TRADE AND FREE COMPETITION

In the nineteenth century things altered more rapidly than ever before. The industrial changes meant that people had to grow used to new methods of work and new ways of life. The eighteenth century respect for the established order of things began to be replaced by beliefs in change and "progress," and a great impatience of anything that seemed to hamper the business of making money. Most people were eager to accept any political or economic doctrine that seemed to remove restrictions. Free trade, which in the eighteenth century had been advocated by Adam Smith and had had the support of statesmen like Pitt, in the nineteenth century became triumphant, and with it the idea of free competition at home.

The national philosophy of the middle part of the century was that of Jeremy Bentham, who taught that every man knew what was best for himself and ought to be left as free as possible to obtain it. The rising manufacturers were felt to be at once making their own fortunes and increasing the prosperity of the country. It was thought that national interests were best served by leaving them free to do so. Government regulation or interference was denounced, and it was argued that the work of governments was only to keep the peace and order which trade needed for its development. Bentham also taught that all institutions should be judged by their usefulness, and that what was bad or inefficient should be swept away without respect for its antiquity or dignity. This teaching helped to inspire many nineteenth century reforms of national and local government.

The nineteenth century belief that the state should not interfere with the private business of the individual was based on a sturdy respect for liberty and a genuine belief that free competition was good for the nation as a whole. But it neglected the fact that a great part of the population lacked the power to secure fair treatment for themselves, and could be mercilessly exploited if they had no state protection. It caused opposition to the Factory Acts, to efforts to enforce decent and safe conditions of work, and to combinations of workmen to secure fair wages. All these things were denounced as interference with free bargaining between master and man.

But in the second half of the century John Stuart Mill, while still upholding individualism, drew a distinction between

interference with a man's private affairs, and interference with his affairs when they concerned other people. The opposition to state intervention was weakened, and Parliament was already making provision for the regulation of public health, sanitation, and conditions of work.

This changed attitude arose partly because industrial conditions were growing so complicated that it was no longer easy for a man to thrive by his own efforts alone. As people learnt to combine, belief in individualism became weaker. Companies began to take the place of private businesses. Instead of believing in free competition business firms began to make agreements with each other for the regulation of prices and to secure joint control of raw material.

CO-OPERATIVE AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

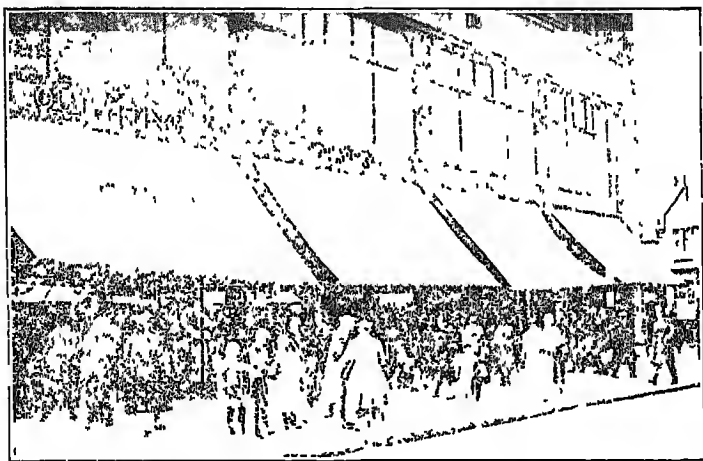
At the same time the workers were learning to combine, and the co-operative and trade unionist movements developed. The first co-operative society was the "Pioneer Society," established at Rochdale in 1844. The movement grew rapidly, and by 1864 there were so many local co-operative stores that a "Co-operative Wholesale Society" was formed. By 1903 the membership of the British Co-operative Societies was two millions. Co-operation is an effort of the people who buy and use goods to combine to manufacture and sell what they require, profits being returned to the consumer in the form of dividends.

The earlier efforts to form trade unions failed, not only because of the laws against such combinations, but because they were too wide and visionary in their conceptions, and not sufficiently practical. But in 1851 the Amalgamated Society of Engineers set the example of a well-organised union formed for the benefit of a single trade. It had definite objects, financial benefits for its members, and a system of organised contributions which made it able to command a good deal of money. Unions on this model were formed in other trades, while the whole movement fell under the control of a small council of leaders in London, who gave it a common policy.

As the unions gained ground they aroused a great deal of hostility. The idea that such organisations were necessarily revolutionary and dangerous was not dead. People were not quick to distinguish between the new, well-organised, moderate

unions, and the small, badly-organised and violent ones that still existed. Moreover it was doubtful whether such organisations were permitted by law. In 1867 the High Court decided that trade unions were illegal bodies, with no power to prosecute dishonest officials who appropriated their funds.

The first Trade Union Congress was held to agitate for an improvement of the position. In 1871 Gladstone's government made the unions legal, but at the same time restricted their action in trade disputes till they were unable to bring any pressure to bear on employers. But since the Reform Act of 1867 had given



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EXTERIOR OF A MODERN CO-OPERATIVE STORES

votes to the skilled workers in towns, union members had a good deal of political influence. In 1875 Disraeli legalised peaceful picketing—that is peaceable attempts to stop workers from going to work during a strike.

The position of the unions was now established and as the century advanced they learnt to rely less upon strikes, which did not always prove successful, and more upon negotiation. They also began to concern themselves less exclusively with the interests of their own trade, and to pay more attention to the whole situation of the working class and to the organisation of the unskilled labourer.

During the eighties and nineties socialism was taking root in England. The Fabian Society (1883) advocated a gradual movement towards the state ownership of mines, railways, banks, and the means of production. This movement at first attracted middle-class intellectuals rather than workers. The unions were at first content to attempt improvement of the conditions of their members without adopting a political programme for the re-organisation of the state. At first their representatives in Parliament were in close alliance with the Liberal party, and it was not till the end of the century that the Labour party appeared.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

The nineteenth century gave England a system of elementary schools, and so secured that everyone should receive some measure of education. In the sixties higher education received attention. The old grammar schools, which had provided the secondary education of the country, were reformed and made efficient. The universities widened the scope of their teaching and revised their examination system. The foundation of the modern universities was begun by the grant of a charter to the University of London in 1835.

The re-organisation of education was one of the many signs that people were no longer content to leave old institutions in the decay into which many of them had fallen. There was, of course, a great deal of opposition to the changes of the century, and especially to the new, and to many people shocking, ideas that it produced. It was a time when science advanced rapidly and became less and less the domain of theorists, and more and more applied to the things of everyday life. Chemistry, geology, and biology were all progressing, and scientific theory began to challenge established ways of thought, and to come in conflict with the religious beliefs of many people.

Scientists argued that the earth developed slowly through long ages, and that plants, animals, and men, as we know them now, were the result of a long period of gradual evolution, not of a single act of creation. This theory of evolution horrified many religious people. It seemed to challenge their beliefs, especially as it was at first held that the process of natural development had been guided by the effects of circumstances, the "survival

of the fittest," and not according to any fixed plan that suggested the intervention of a higher power

Devout people were greatly troubled, many of them underwent long personal struggles in the effort to reconcile their religious beliefs and the new ideas. Others denounced the scientists as atheists. There were quarrels between friends and in families, and a period of hostility between science and religion. This lasted to the end of the century, when the scientists were acquiring a less mechanical view of the universe, and most religious bodies began to be less opposed to the idea of evolution

RELIGION

The nineteenth century was very interested in religious questions. The eighteenth century had been philosophical and indifferent, but the rise of Methodism and Evangelicalism had revived religious enthusiasm. With it quarrels between religious sects began again. Both the religious and the philosophers combined to teach a more humane attitude towards the sufferings of other people. This helped to procure such reforms as the abolition of slavery, and the interest of philanthropists in bettering working class conditions by the earlier Factory Acts.

It was the revival of interest in religion that made the quarrels between religion and science so bitter. It also produced divisions in the Church of England, a great hostility to Roman Catholics, and a vigorous growth of the Nonconformist bodies. It is difficult now to understand the hostility of both eighteenth and nineteenth century England to the Roman Catholics. A firm stand was made before they were permitted to vote, to sit in Parliament, to enter the Universities, and to share in the ordinary rights of citizens. Great excitement was aroused when the Pope appointed Roman Catholic bishops for England in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In spite of strong religious feeling and prejudice, nineteenth century individualism and love of liberty were opposed to attempts to interfere with people's religious beliefs. The century saw the removal of religious disabilities, and the adoption of the principle that people ought to be free to believe what they chose. The same individualism favoured the growth of the Nonconformist churches, though the tendency to quarrel over points of belief, organisation, and custom helped to split them into many bodies.

The Church showed a similar tendency to quarrel over dogmas and shades of opinion. The century produced the Oxford Movement and the Anglo-Catholics, who disliked Protestantism without wishing to unite the English and Roman Churches. They argued that Elizabeth's Thirty-nine Articles really re-affirmed doctrines of the early Church, of which the Church of England was the true representative in belief and ritual.

The Oxford Movement was regarded with suspicion by the other Protestant sects, who saw in it a step towards Roman Catholicism. But it became associated with the old High Church party, and the Anglo-Catholics remain an important body in the Church of England. They were vigorously opposed by the Low Churchmen, or Evangelicals, who based their belief on the Bible, rather than on the traditional teaching of the Church. In their attachment to the version of creation given in the Book of Genesis, the Evangelicals became the most bitter opponents of the scientific views on evolution. But as it came to be seen that the advance of science did not necessarily mean the destruction of religion, the Broad Churchmen, or Modernists arose, who were willing to revise some of the old beliefs in accordance with new discoveries.

The nineteenth century lacked the polish and clearness of mind of the eighteenth, but, in spite of the evils and suffering that accompanied rapid industrial development it was less brutal and indifferent. It was the age of the decline of the aristocracy, and the predominance of a wealthy, middle class which admired success, diligence, and respectability. The world was changing so quickly, and the changes were so unlike anything known before that it was inevitable that there should be a great deal of misery and distress and much that can be criticised. But, in criticising, it is easy to overlook the tremendous energy and adaptability that was displayed.

CHAPTER LIV

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS TO 1914

PARTY GOVERNMENT AFTER GLADSTONE

The period of Gladstone and Disraeli had shown English party government at its best. Disraeli had rescued the Conservatives from the plight in which they had been left by the split that followed the repeal of the Corn Laws. He had taught them to abandon Protection and to accept free trade as the policy desired by the country. He had persuaded them to adopt his policy of Tory democracy, and to appeal to the new working class electorate by measures for sanitation and housing, which the Liberals could not undertake because of their opposition to state interference. He had also given his party a new policy of imperialism that appealed to commercial interests. By these means he left it no longer the party of the landowners alone, but with a definite appeal to working class and financial interests.

While Disraeli was adapting Conservatism to fit new conditions, Gladstone was completing the transformation of the Liberal party, begun by Cobden and Bright, from the aristocratic Whiggery of the champions of the first Reform Bill to the creed of "peace, retrenchment, and reform" that appealed to the manufacturers and the working class. His party retained the popularity which it had had since the fall of Peel, but Disraeli had brought the Conservatives into favour with the country again, so neither Liberal nor Conservative stayed in power for an immoderate length of time. Both had an active policy, and each was an energetic critic of the other. Under the stimulus of their rivalry important measures were passed. But in 1886 Gladstone's Home Rule Bill split the Liberal party. Its opponents, Chamberlain and the Whig section of the Liberals led by Lord Hartington, joined the Conservatives to form a Unionist party in opposition to the Home Rulers. The result was a long period of Conservative government, followed by years of Liberal rule, which lasted till the adoption of Coalition government during the War.

CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT OF LORD SALISBURY

Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Disraeli in the leadership of the Conservative party, came into office for the second time on the fall of Gladstone in 1886. Except for three years of Liberal government (1892-1895), the Conservatives remained in power until 1905, first under the premiership of Lord Salisbury (1886-1892 and 1895-1902) and then, after his death under that of his nephew, Balfour (1902-1905). Lord Salisbury was more interested in foreign than home affairs. He was a cautious, though able statesman, with a keen brain, a strong sense of humour, and a certain detachment of outlook that kept him aloof from popular enthusiasms. He was mistrustful of democratic and reforming eagerness. He believed that modern conditions were too complicated to be lightly interfered with, and was inclined to see wisdom in a policy of leaving things alone. Nevertheless his ministry revolutionised local government by the County Councils Act (1888), which took local government out of the hands of the justices of the peace, and handed it over to elective councils in the Counties and County Boroughs. In 1894 Urban and Rural District Councils were created. The functions of these councils rapidly increased, and they took control of lighting, sanitation, and a great many other services in their areas.

The Liberal interval in this period of Conservative rule was occupied by the last ministry of Gladstone (1892-1894), whose efforts to persuade the country to grant Home Rule to Ireland might have succeeded except for the Parnell Divorce scandal (1890), and the split in the Irish party which followed it. After the defeat of the Home Rule Bill (1894), Gladstone retired, and after the short ministry of Lord Rosebery (1894-5), the Liberal party, harassed by the quarrels of its leaders, Rosebery, Sir William Harcourt, and Lord Morley, none of whom was satisfied to accept the other's predominance, was once more out of office.

BALFOUR AND EDUCATION

Lord Salisbury's last ministry (1895-1902), at the end of which occurred the death of Queen Victoria, was too completely occupied by South African problems (the Jameson raid, and the Boer War) to have much time to spare for home affairs. But when the war was ended, an exciting period in home politics



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FUNERAL OF QUEEN VICTORIA MOURNERS ARRIVING AT PADDINGTON

began. On Lord Salisbury's death, Balfour had become Prime Minister (1902-1905), and he had to manage a party which contained both rigid Conservatives, and Liberal Unionists like Joseph Chamberlain.

Chamberlain had left the Liberal party over the question of Home Rule. He had been an advanced Radical, his energy, so far occupied by his imperialist policy as Colonial Secretary, was now free to spend itself in agitating once more for changes at home. Balfour himself was an aristocrat, and philosopher, and a man of wide culture. He was too broad-minded not to be open to new ideas, and was quite energetic enough to adopt a firm policy and put it into practice, as he had shown when Secretary for Ireland. But he had much of the rather cynical detachment of his uncle, Lord Salisbury, and was not inclined to commit himself too deeply to any cause. He was a brilliant debater and party manager, but his subtlety and lack of enthusiasm were inclined to puzzle the public, who preferred more downright politicians. The combination of Balfour and Chamberlain had startling effects on the history of the Conservative party.

In 1902 the Balfour government aroused the opposition of Nonconformists by passing an Education Act which they thought unduly favourable to the Church. County and Borough Councils now existing for local government, the School Boards established by the Education Act of 1870 seemed no longer necessary. They were abolished and replaced by Education Committees of the County and Borough Councils. These authorities were to provide for the maintenance of the elementary schools, and among others for the "Church," or "National" Schools provided by the Church of England. Nonconformists raised an outcry against paying rates for the maintenance of schools which belonged to another religious denomination. Many adopted a policy of passive resistance, and let their goods be sold up rather than pay the rates. The Act also empowered the Education Committees to provide secondary as well as elementary education.

CHAMBERLAIN AND TARIFF REFORM

Before long another, and more important controversy arose. British industries were suffering from the effects of foreign competition, and Chamberlain boldly proposed the abandonment of

free trade and the adoption of protective tariffs. The effect of this was startling. Free trade had triumphed in England when Cobden and Bright secured the repeal of the Corn Laws (1846), and since that time its wisdom had not been seriously challenged. The British held it to be one of the chief causes of their prosperity, and had confidently expected that other nations would see its advantages and adopt it too.

But foreigners argued that British commercial supremacy in the nineteenth century was due not to free trade, but to lack of effective competition. That she had had the advantage of being the first nation to become industrialised. They did not intend to remain dependent on Britain for manufactured goods, while she used them as sources of food and raw material. They wanted to build up industries of their own, and used tariffs to protect them from destructive competition, while they were still developing. At the beginning of the twentieth century the cotton, iron, and steel industries were already suffering from foreign competition. Chamberlain argued that free trade was out-of-date, that the growing industrialisation of the world made a new policy necessary, and that British industries ought to be protected. His vigorous imperialism also made him welcome tariffs as a means of giving preference to colonial trade, and so binding the empire together.

Chamberlain was accustomed to taking a line of his own without much respect for the prejudices of his colleagues. As a Liberal, he had startled the moderates by the extreme radicalism of the measures which he demanded. As a Unionist Colonial Secretary he had adopted a policy of vigorous imperialism in Africa, which had aroused much opposition at home. He now put forward his policies of Tariff Reform and Imperial Preference without regard for the fact that many of his fellow-ministers were convinced Free Traders.

The result of the new campaign was to split the Unionist party, and to bring the Liberals back to power until the Great War. This result was postponed for almost two years by the ingenuity of Balfour. Free-trading ministers resigned in protest against Mr Chamberlain's policy, and Mr Chamberlain himself resigned in order to be free to conduct an independent crusade throughout the country (1903), but Balfour remained in office. He refused to declare for or against tariff reform, and used ingenious political tactics to keep his party in power.

Chamberlain's energy and organising ability obtained a good deal of public support for his policy. But his campaign failed because imperial preference would have involved taxes on food, and so sent up the cost of living. His opponents made good use of the big, and little loaf in their propaganda. The Unionist party was split into Free Traders and Protectionists, and Balfour's position finally became so impossible that he resigned (1905). The Liberals came into power under the premiership of Campbell-Bannerman, and the Conservative party, torn by its own disagreements, remained out of office for years. In 1906 a stroke made Mr Chamberlain unable to take part in public affairs, and in 1911 Balfour was succeeded as leader of the Conservatives by Bonar Law.

CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN'S LIBERAL MINISTRY

The Liberal ministries of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1905-1908) and of Asquith (1908-1915) had large majorities. Not only were the Conservatives split over the Tariff Reform question, but the Irish were again pressing their demand for Home Rule, and the Nonconformists had been aroused by the Education Act of 1902. All these factors helped to bring in a period of Liberal government, for the Liberals were uncompromising Free Traders, they retained the Gladstone tradition of a Home Rule policy, and Liberalism and Nonconformity had always tended to go together. Moreover the removal of Chamberlain from politics (1906) lost the Conservatives their most progressive leader. Balfour was not sufficiently downright for the British public, which is inclined to mistrust too much cleverness. They were tired of the ingenuity and subtlety with which he steered a course between the Tariff Reformers and Free Traders of his party, and wanted him to declare openly for one side or the other. They contrasted his elusive tactics with the uncompromising honesty of the Liberal leader, Campbell-Bannerman.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had won the respect even of those who did not agree with him by the firmness with which he had expressed and stood by his opinions during the Boer War, and had earned the confidence of the country as a singularly honest man. While he was in office the ability which he displayed both in countering the brilliant attacks of Mr Balfour

on his policy, and in the settlement of the question of South African government, which was his greatest achievement, astonished his party. The Liberals had been inclined to underestimate his capacity, and had wished him, as Prime Minister, to retire to the House of Lords, and to leave the management of the Commons to Asquith, who became Prime Minister after Campbell-Bannerman's death (1908).

LIBERAL OPINIONS AND POLICY

Besides Asquith, the Liberal party had a number of talented men among its leaders. Lord Morley, Sir Edward Grey, who was to become celebrated as Foreign Secretary, Haldane, who carried out an important work of re-organisation at the War Office, Mr. Winston Churchill, and Mr. Lloyd George, who became famous as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith ministry. But in spite of its talents and its majority in the Commons, the Liberal ministry had to face many difficulties, not the least being differences in the opinions of its own members.

Under the leadership of Gladstone the Liberals had been definitely a "peace party," but they also inherited the Palmerstonian tradition of an energetic foreign policy, and under the influence of the imperialism of the eighties and nineties many of them had become imperialists. The Boer War had shown a definite Liberal "split" on colonial policy. Liberal imperialists like Asquith and Grey supported the war, while Liberal pacifists like Campbell-Bannerman and Mr. Lloyd George denounced it. This difference in attitude to foreign affairs continued, and there was some trouble in reconciling those leaders who wanted a pacific policy and a reduction of armaments, and those who wanted to build more battleships in order to meet the growing menace of the German fleet.

Ireland presented an even more difficult problem. Attempts to satisfy the Irish Nationalists by a Home Rule Bill were met by the stubborn resistance of Ulster under Lord Carson and F. E. Smith, afterwards Lord Birkenhead. It is interesting to remember that, when the Great War broke out, the attention of the English public was concentrated not on foreign affairs, but on the serious state of things that existed in Ireland, and the possibility of a civil war there.

The Liberals had also to encounter the mistrust and alarm caused by the advanced views of some of their leaders.

Liberalism was changing its character. Throughout the nineteenth century one of the most cherished Liberal principles had been opposition to state interference. The legislation of the seventies for sanitation, housing, and factory regulations, had been the product of Disraeli's Tory democracy, and much criticised by his Liberal opponents. When, in his Radical days, Mr Chamberlain had advocated taxation of the rich to provide social services, and had demanded the abolition of the House of Lords the moderates of his own party had been shocked. But since then Radical doctrines had been gaining support among the Liberals, and the Liberal governments of the early twentieth century abandoned the principle of non-interference. It passed measures for the provision of various social services by the state, imposed taxes on the rich to provide money for these services, and, because of its opposition to their policy, undertook the "reform" of the House of Lords.

THE STRUGGLE WITH THE HOUSE OF LORDS

The origin of the struggle with the House of Lords lay in the conviction of the peers that the Liberal leaders were dangerous extremists. This led them to make a determined resistance to important Liberal measures. The Liberals became discontented with the existing situation. They argued that appeals to the country became useless if a Liberal majority in the Commons was to have its measures continually amended or rejected by a Conservative House of Lords. Probably things would have settled down again if the Lords had not gone beyond their constitutional rights by rejecting a Liberal budget. It was contrary to constitutional practice for the Lords to amend or reject money bills, since national finance was regarded as the business of the Commons.

This particular Budget (1909), brought forward by Lloyd George, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Asquith government, was disliked by the Lords because it embodied the principle of taxing the rich to provide social services. Competition with the Germans in fleet-building was making armament expenditure heavy, so, if the government were to carry out its plans for national insurance and other services, new taxes would be necessary. Lloyd George proposed to raise the necessary additional revenue by increased death duties, "super-tax" on

incomes of more than £5,000 a year, and by the taxation of increased land values. This last meant that in areas where the value of land had risen because of the growth of towns, industrial developments, or other causes, the government proposed to take a fifth of this "unearned increment," when the land was sold or passed, by death, to a new owner.

These proposals roused a great outcry, not so much because of the money involved, as because they raised the whole question of government taxation of wealth and interference with property rights. The Conservative leaders encouraged the Lords to take the drastic step of rejecting the budget, and the Liberal leaders appealed to the country. The electors showed no great interest in the question of the reform of the Lords, and as other issues were raised at the election and the Liberals obtained only a very small majority, the country could not be said to have given a decisive verdict. Nevertheless the Liberals decided to proceed with their policy of reducing the power of the Lords, and the Parliament Act of 1911 was the result.

This Act could scarcely have been passed if the new King, George V, who had come to the throne on the death of Edward VII (1910) had not promised that, if the Lords rejected it, he would create enough new peers to carry it through their House. When they learnt this, the Lords gave way and accepted the Bill. The new Act restored the old constitutional rule that the Lords were unable to reject a Money Bill. It also reduced their power to reject other Public Bills, passed by the Commons, to a "suspensory veto," which delayed the passing of a measure for two years. This reduced the House of Lords to a secondary place in the constitution, but the power of holding up legislation still proved to be of political importance. The Act also reduced the maximum duration of a Parliament from seven to five years. It made possible the passage of an Act for the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church, which had been twice rejected by the Lords (1914).

SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Having abandoned the principle of non-interference by the state the Liberals produced some important social legislation, closely connected with the name of Lloyd George. Old Age Pensions were granted (1908), a pension of 5/- a week being allowed to persons over seventy. Elementary schools were to

be medically inspected, and education authorities were empowered to provide meals for poor children. Acts for housing and town-planning, and for the provision of allotments were a step forward in policies that had been championed both by Disraeli and by Joseph Chamberlain, and that have been carried further since the war. The working hours of miners were restricted to eight hours a day, and Trade Boards were established to settle wages in underpaid industries. Workmen were given the right to compensation for injuries sustained during their work. In 1911 the National Health Insurance Act provided compulsory insurance of workers against sickness.

It is difficult to realise how these measures startled a nation unused to state interference with their individual concerns, and how deeply they were resented. The resentment took many forms and had many causes. A great deal was said about the irksome necessity of stamp-licking which the national health insurance imposed upon employers. Where servants had received care during sickness from their employers, they grumbled at being turned over to the care of the state. Pensions were rejected by some old people as a form of pauperisation. There was a great outcry about taxation and extravagance. Then all these protests were temporarily overwhelmed by national preoccupation with the war, and when peace came, people were already used to the new measures, and much more sweeping ones were passed. So, in the excitement and stress of the war, the individualism of the nineteenth century was swamped, and "paternal legislation" by the state became accepted as a part of the natural order of things.

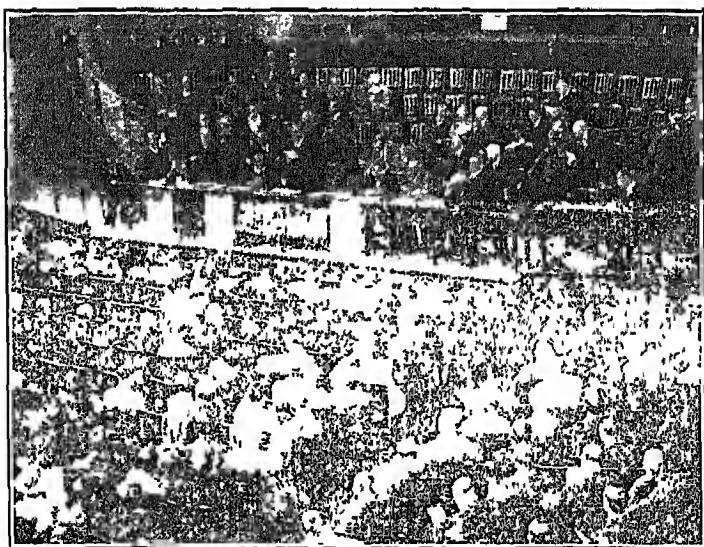
TRADE UNIONISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY

The period before the war was one of strikes and of industrial discontent. The social legislation that was being passed had not been in existence long enough for its effects to be felt. Trade unionism had received a check at the beginning of the century, and once more felt that it was fighting to maintain its position. In Parliament the Labour party was not yet strong enough to offer its supporters the hope of getting what they wanted by new legislation instead of by strikes and direct action.

In 1901, in the Taff Vale Case, Trade Unions had been adjudged liable to pay damages for acts committed by their

members during a strike. This made it possible that a union, in a strike, might have its funds drained away. In 1906 this state of affairs was altered by the Trades Disputes Act which exempted unions from responsibility for the actions of individuals.

In the nineteenth century the Labour members who represented trade unionism in Parliament were closely associated with the Liberals. In 1906 a separate Labour party was formed, largely as a result of the Taff Vale judgment, which made the



SPECIAL TRADES UNION CONGRESS

CONFERENCE ON UNEMPLOYMENT AT THE CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER

unions feel the need of a political organisation which could state their case, and work for legislative changes which they desired. The new party was mainly dependent on the unions for its funds, and in 1909 its future seemed threatened by the Osborne judgment, which declared it illegal to use trade union funds for political purposes. Temporarily the Labour party was weakened, for Labour members were seldom men who could afford to sit in Parliament if they had no support beyond their own private means. But the check roused the unions to greater

interest in political representation, and in 1910 forty Labour members were elected. In 1911 the payment of members made the situation easier, but it was not until 1913 that unions were authorised to collect a separate, voluntary levy from their members for political purposes.

Before the war, therefore, the unions had an organised political party, and people had already learnt that their representation in Parliament tended to draw the working-class movement to a programme of orderly political change, and to lessen industrial friction. But the Labour party was still small, and the idea of a Labour government had not yet come into practical politics.

WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

At the same time the Militant movement was making Women's Suffrage one of the prominent questions of the day. The latter part of the nineteenth century had seen the growth of a feminist movement, especially in education. Women obtained the same type of education as men, and began to enter masculine professions and to demand an equal degree of freedom. Their demand for votes had many sympathisers in both the Conservative and the Liberal party, but both parties were divided on the subject, and refused to make it a part of their political programme. Led by Mrs Pankhurst, the Militant Suffragettes determined to force politicians to attend to their wishes by a campaign of direct action. They interrupted public meetings, mobbed politicians, smashed shop windows, and when sent to gaol for these outbreaks, went on hunger-strike.

Actually their violence lost much support in Parliament for their movement, but it did advertise it widely, and greatly added to the number of women who demanded the vote. But the work done by women during the war had a greater share in convincing public opinion that their demand for the franchise was just, and it was not till after the war that it was granted. In 1918 votes were given to women over thirty, and in 1928 women were placed on the same footing as men, receiving the vote at the age of twenty-one.



SUITRAGETTE PROCESSION

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CHAPTER LV

CAUSES AND COURSE OF THE GREAT WAR

GERMAN POLICY AFTER THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The principal cause of the Great War was the commercial and territorial competition of European powers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The survival of certain grievances, especially in Alsace-Lorraine, was also important. The development of rival systems of alliance resulted in competition in armaments. All countries began to feel so unsafe that it became more and more difficult to settle international questions by peaceful negotiation. In the end the powers plunged into war because the rival groups were each confident of victory.

After the post-Napoleonic attempt to manage European affairs by international Congresses had failed, the European nations once more followed independent policies, and made temporary alliances. But in 1870 when Bismarck took Alsace-Lorraine from France after the Franco-Prussian war (1870-71), he felt that he must expect lasting French hostility, and must guard against French attempts to regain the lost provinces. It then became the main object of his foreign policy to keep France isolated and friendless in Europe and Germany the centre of a system of permanent alliances. By skilful diplomacy he built up the Triple Alliance (1882) of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and also managed to keep Russia in alliance with Germany.

The rivalry of Austria and Russia in the Balkans made the game very difficult, for Russia felt that Germany favoured Austrian interests there. After the fall of Bismarck no one else showed enough skill and cunning to maintain his system. Russia broke away, and in 1896 made an alliance with France. Thus the alliance system, which Bismarck had intended to maintain peace and German predominance, was transformed into two rival alliances based on Franco-German and Austro-Russian hostility. The way was paved for competition in armaments and the development of an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion that finally led to war.

While European nations were developing their hostile systems of alliance, they were also engaged in a vigorous struggle for colonies. The seventies, eighties, and nineties were the period of the "scramble for Africa." It is interesting to remember that the French were, at this time, the chief colonial rivals of England, and there were occasions when an Anglo-French war seemed likely. It is also worth remembering that, in spite of much quarrelling, and of the rather aggressive attitude of the Germans, who were later in the field, the partition of Africa was settled by negotiation and agreement, and not by war.

Germany was late in taking part in the scramble for colonies. The pieces of Africa she had obtained in the eighties were by no means the most desirable. In the latter part of the nineteenth century she had rapidly become industrialised and she wanted markets for her goods, and sources from which she could obtain raw material. She also desired places to which her people could emigrate without becoming, as they did in America, the subjects of a foreign power. As the Kaiser expressed it, she wanted "a place in the sun," and when she attempted to secure one in Africa or Asia she was certain to come into conflict with the interests of the other powers, and particularly of Great Britain.

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL RIVALRY

Britain and Germany had a tradition of friendship behind them and were slow to become hostile to each other. At the end of the nineteenth century when the British were beginning to feel their isolation and the possibility of attempts to seize some of their possessions, a German alliance seemed more probable than a French one. An alliance was suggested by Chamberlain, but the sympathy of the German people with the Boers made it impossible. After this, hostile feeling between the two countries grew rapidly. The Germans felt that they were handicapped in their commercial and colonial rivalry with Britain, by British supremacy at sea, so they began to build a fleet to rival the British one. A period of naval competition followed, during which the British public came to be familiar with the idea of a German invasion. Lord Fisher, the re-organiser of the British navy transferred the main fleet from the Mediterranean to the North Sea (1904), and predicted an Anglo-German war.

At the same time British statesmen were becoming alarmed at German policy in the Near East. The Germans had planned a railway from Berlin to Bagdad, with an extension to the head of the Persian Gulf, and had obtained permission from the Sultan of Turkey to begin the building of it. The British disliked the establishment of German influence in Turkey. They saw with alarm a future in which Germany might replace Russia as their rival in Asia, and might even threaten the safety of India. Under the stress of naval and eastern competition, feeling between England and Germany was steadily growing worse.

THE ANGLO-FRENCH ENTENTE

Meanwhile, relations with France were becoming easier. In all parts of the globe France and England had been having colonial quarrels with each other, but the French withdrawal in the Fashoda crisis (1898) had left a favourable impression. Also the quarrel between Russia and Japan made the French fear a German attack while their Russian ally was engaged in the Far East. The British Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, was glad to seize an opportunity to end the constant colonial quarrels with France. But, though Britain had already abandoned her traditional isolation by an Anglo-Japanese alliance, she was still unwilling to find herself tied to one of the two rival European alliances. She would agree only to a loose "Entente," not an alliance.

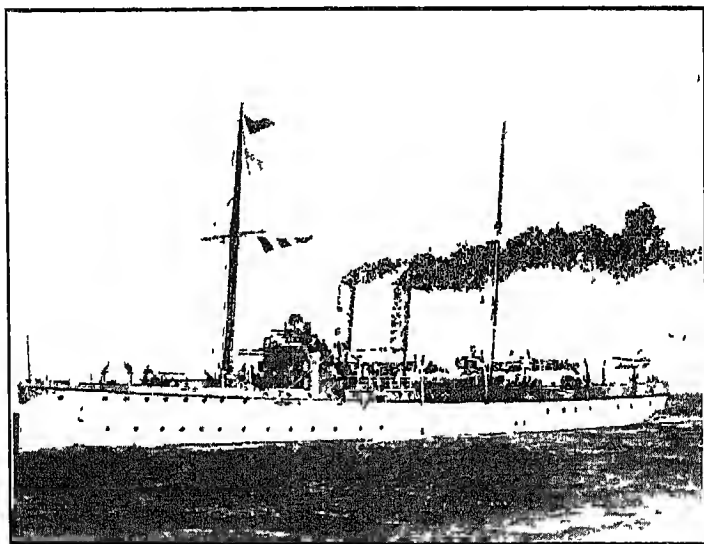
Britain continued to regard the agreement as mainly a colonial one by which France abandoned her opposition to British policy in Egypt in return for British support of French policy in Morocco. But the European powers took the alliance more seriously than this, and regarded it as a sign that Great Britain had at last thrown in her lot with one of the rival European combinations. When Sir Edward Grey became Foreign Secretary the understanding with France grew closer. In 1907 France's ally, Russia, was taken into what now became the "Triple Entente," after a settlement of her Asiatic differences with Britain.

The English maintained, up to the beginning of the Great War, that they were not bound to go to war on behalf of their allies. But conferences between French and British military chiefs showed the recognition of such a possibility. Also the

competition in fleet-building with Germany both drew Britain into the European armaments race and pointed out Germany as her most probable enemy

MOROCCO, ALGECIRAS, AGADIR

With the European powers divided into rival alliances, the Triple Alliance, and the Triple Entente, each mightily armed and suspicious of the others' intentions, everyone learnt to expect



Sport and General Press Agency

THE GERMAN WARSHIP "PANTHER," WELL-KNOWN THROUGH HER "PANTHER LEAP" TO AGADIR

war, and it became more and more difficult to settle international disputes peacefully. In 1899 and 1907 Peace Conferences met at the Hague, but they achieved little, while one crisis after another arose, and seemed to threaten development into a European war

The first centre of trouble was Morocco at the north-western corner of Africa, and one of the few pieces of Africa that had not been seized by a European power. France, Spain, Great Britain, and Germany, all had interests there, and France was eager to add the country to her North African Empire. When

the Anglo-French Entente (1904) was arranged Great Britain promised to support France in Morocco, but the Germans intervened. The German Kaiser's trick of suddenly taking an aggressive line of his own in foreign affairs complicated the policy of German ministers, and helped to cause friction between Germany and other nations. The Kaiser visited Tangier, announced his intention of safeguarding German interests, and demanded a European congress on the subject of Morocco.

The Conference met at Algeciras (1906), and managed to effect a peaceful settlement, but a good deal of ill-feeling remained. In 1911, the French sent an expedition to restore order at Fez, the capital of Morocco. The Kaiser again challenged French claims, by sending a German gunboat, the "Panther," to Agadir, on the Moroccan coast. War seemed near, but again the incident was dealt with peaceably. France gave up some Congo territory to Germany in compensation for a settlement in Morocco.

THE BALKAN WARS

Colonial rivalry, hostile alliances, competition in armaments, and the development of a universal atmosphere of suspicion were the underlying causes of the Great War, but the events which directly led up to it were the result of the situation in the Balkans. Part of the Balkans remained under Turkish rule, and the rest was divided into small states, dissatisfied with their own boundaries, and ready to quarrel either with each other or with Turkey.

In the Balkans as in Africa, the interests of members of the two rival European alliances came into conflict. Russia and Austria were jealous of each other's influence there. England, now friendly with Russia, was hostile to the growth of German influence in Turkey, where her own had once been supreme. In 1908 there was a revolution in Turkey, and the Sultan was deposed by the "Young Turk" party. Austria took advantage of the disorder there, and of the fact that her rival, Russia, was still weak from the Russo-Japanese war, to annex the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Treaty of Berlin (1878) had permitted Austria to occupy these provinces, but they still nominally belonged to Turkey.

This annexation not only irritated Russia, but produced a general impression that the Turkish empire was at last falling to pieces, and that every one must scramble for what he could get. In 1911 the Italians went to war with the Turks, and seized Tripoli in North Africa. The Greek Prime Minister, Venizelos, managed to unite Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro into a "Balkan League," and attacked Turkey in the First Balkan War (1912), which almost drove the Turks out of Europe. When the Turks were defeated, the Balkan states began a war, the Second Balkan War (1913), with each other. England, Germany, and Russia, worked together for a settlement, for the German policy of supporting Turkey was being upset. It seemed that peace had been secured, but Austria had her own reasons for discontent and her policy had a decisive effect on European history.

THE AUSTRIAN ATTACK ON SERBIA

Austria was very nervous about the situation in the Balkans. Her subjects included a large number of Slavs, and the Slav nationalist movement, which had its centre in the Balkan kingdom of Serbia, was directed against Austria as well as Turkey. Austria began to feel that her own safety depended on crushing Serbia, and if to do so involved the interference of Serbia's supporter, Russia, and the development of a European war, the Austrian military chiefs did not really care. They had become convinced that war was inevitable, and thought that it would be wiser to fight before the Russians were better prepared for it. Thus the general expectation of war helped in the end to produce it.

The Austrian pretext for attacking Serbia was the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, at Sarajevo, during a visit to Serbia in June, 1914. The Austrians accused the Serbian government of being implicated in the murder. They sent an ultimatum to Serbia, the terms of which were so severe that the Serbians were obviously not intended to accept them. German policy was undecided. Like the Austrians the German military leaders were pressing for war, and at first Germany made no effort to check her ally. But, when, under Russian influence, the Serbs tried to keep the peace by agreeing to the whole of the Austrian terms, the Germans tried to persuade Austria to accept this settlement, only to

find that she had already declared war on Serbia. After this affairs were decided by the desire of the military leaders in the different countries to obtain the advantage by rapid action. The Russians began to mobilise, the Germans imitated them, and the Germans were followed by the French. Mobilisations led to



Sport and General

THE ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND OF AUSTRIA.

ultimatums, and in spite of the efforts of Sir Edward Grey to induce the powers to negotiate, Europe was soon at war.

The English had at first regarded the Serajevo affair as another of the already familiar Balkan squabbles, in which they had little interest. The outbreak of a European war placed English statesmen in a dubious position. They were practically pledged to support France, but no definite promise had been given, and they could not make war without the consent of Parliament. It seemed for a while possible that England might remain outside the war.

But England had pledged herself in 1837 to maintain Belgian neutrality, and though Belgium had come to understandings that were, to say the least of them, contrary to the spirit of neutrality, it was still possible for Britain to make a *casus belli* out of open violation of the neutrality agreement of 1837. It was her traditional policy to prevent any great power from obtaining control of the Belgian ports. In the end an ultimatum was sent to Germany, demanding that Belgian neutrality should be respected. The German invasion of Belgium was the immediate reason for the entry of Great Britain into the war.

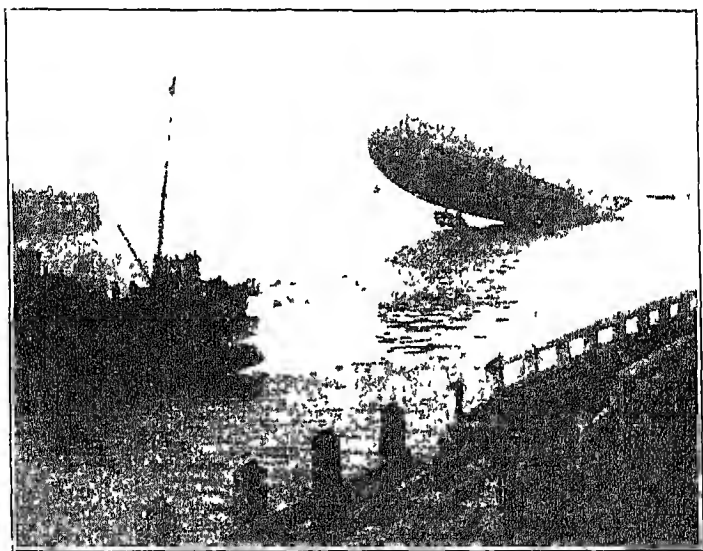
THE FAILURE OF THE GERMAN WAR PLAN

When the Great War began, military experts, especially in Germany, expected it to be a short affair. The world had never before seen an army that was, at once, so large, so well-trained, and so well-equipped and organised as the German one. The Germans had a definite plan for using this overwhelming military machine to deal with the Triple Entente powers in turn. This plan depended upon rapid action, and made them hasten to attack France as soon as possible after the Austro-Serbian quarrel had led to a Russian mobilisation, and a war in Central Europe.

Russian organisation was known to be bad, and the Germans hoped to defeat France while the Russian armies were gathering in the field. She could then deal with Russia at leisure. If England, who was a naval, not a military power, chose to support her allies, she would probably find the war at an end before she could help them effectively. Germany could also afford to neglect the fact that Italy was not a very enthusiastic member of the Triple Alliance, since it was the support of Austria that was principally necessary in dealing with Russia.

The programme of the Germans was, therefore, to use most of their forces to defeat France in a rapid, well-planned campaign, and so to be free to deal with the Russian armies when they appeared. If Germany had succeeded in this, the war would soon have been over. Her failure was due to two things: the unexpected energy shown by the Russians, and the miscarriage of the German plan for the defeat of France.

Unfortunately for the Germans, the Russians mobilised much more quickly than had been expected, and the energetic Russian



ZEPPELIN DOWN AT SEA

Imperial War Museum

commander, the Grand-Duke Nicholas, sent two armies to invade East Prussia. The Germans, commanded by Hindenburg and Ludendorff, defeated the Russians at Tannenberg, one of the decisive battles of the war, and in the Battle of the Masurian Lakes. But they had had to recall two Army Corps from France for the defence of East Prussia, just when it was essential to their plans to concentrate upon the defeat of the French. The Russians then began a successful advance into Galicia (Austria-Hungary), which Hindenburg checked by a counter-campaign against

Russian Poland By the end of the year (1914), the Russians had been forced upon the defensive, and the Russian and German armies faced each other on a front that stretched from East Prussia to the Carpathians Though the Russian advance failed, it probably saved the French from defeat by withdrawing troops from the western front, where the same conditions of deadlock prevailed by the end of 1914

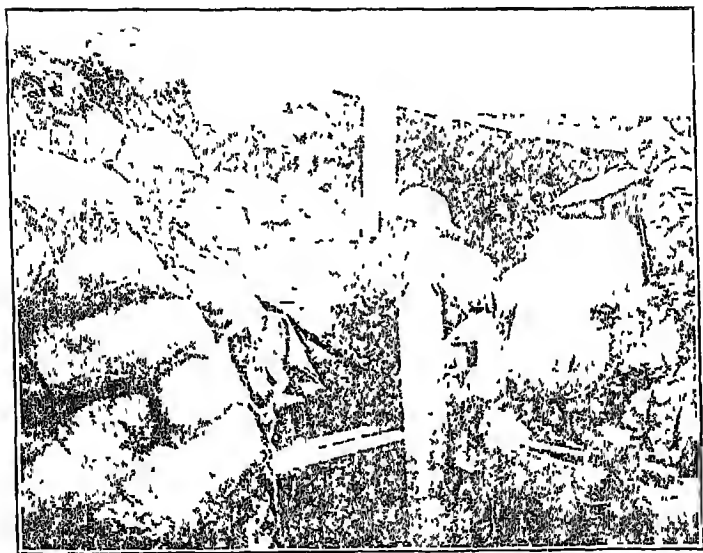
In their attack on France the Germans intended to avoid the heavily fortified Franco-German frontier by invading France through Belgium They hoped then to defeat the French rapidly by an advance upon Paris, followed by a westward sweep of the German armies through the country, encircling the French and driving them back towards the frontier They hoped in this way to defeat France before Russia or England could interfere, and they came very near to success But unexpected factors appeared British and Russians acted more rapidly than had been expected, and Belgium resisted the German invasion. German commanders were out of touch with each other, and did not keep to the programme laid down for them Perhaps the most decisive factor of all was the withdrawal of the two German Army Corps to fight the Russians in East Prussia.

The Belgian resistance, beginning with the defence of Liège, delayed the Germans long enough for the six divisions of the British Expeditionary Force to be sent across the Channel British and French had to retreat before the German advance, and Paris was threatened, but the Germans, part of whose troops had been withdrawn to fight the Russians, had to abandon their campaign and alter their line of march. The Allied troops, under French and Joffre, risked an advance, and in the engagements known as the "Battle of the Marne" drove the Germans back from the Marne to the Aisne

This battle completed the failure of the German plan of invasion It was followed by a race between the two armies to reach the coast, in the attempt to outflank each other, and by a German attempt to break through the British lines in the First Battle of Ypres At the end of the year (1914), no decision had been reached. The hostile armies had entrenched themselves in a long line which stretched from the Belgian coast to Switzerland The German plan for obtaining a rapid victory had failed, and the war became a long struggle in which each side tried to wear down the other's resources

1915 TRENCH WARFARE THE DARDANELLES

After 1914 everyone realised that the struggle was to be a long one. The opposing armies had dug their lines of trenches opposite each other, and there was no longer any opportunity for the rapid movement of troops that had decided other wars. The struggle resembled a vast siege, and heavy artillery, machine guns and barbed wire made it impossible to secure even a few yards of ground without tremendous loss of life. It was obvious that



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LANCASHIRE FUSILIER SENTRY IN A TRENCH, LOOKING THROUGH A BOX PERISCOPE OPPOSITE MISSINIS, NEAR PLOEGSTEERT WOOD JANUARY 1917

all the resources of the nations concerned would be needed for victory. Great Britain, who had received the whole-hearted support of India and the colonies, set about building up a great army at a speed never equalled before, and trying to organise a supply of munitions that would meet the enormous demand for them. It was the influence of Lord Kitchener that helped to procure the army for her, while that of Mr Lloyd George procured the munitions. Since the seriousness of the struggle seemed to call

for the help of all parties a Coalition government was formed with Asquith as Prime Minister (1915).

Throughout 1915 the struggle on the Western Front remained indecisive, in spite of British attacks at Neuve Chappelle and Loos, and French ones in Champagne and Artois. In April the Germans introduced poison gas in the Second Battle of Ypres, and a new horror was added to warfare. In the east things went badly for the Allies. At the end of 1914 Turkey had joined the Central powers, so in 1915 a combined military and naval attack was made upon her by British, Australian, and New Zealand forces. Their aim was to land on the Gallipoli peninsular, force the Dardanelles, and so at once secure communications with Russia and deal a crushing blow to the enemy cause.

But the Dardanelles expedition failed, in spite of gallant fighting and much loss of life, and the Allies only obtained a footing in Salonica, which they kept till the end of the war. Meanwhile, the Russian armies were being driven out of Poland altogether, and the Serbs were defeated by a combination of Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians. The one bright event for the Allies was that Italy joined them and declared war upon Austria.

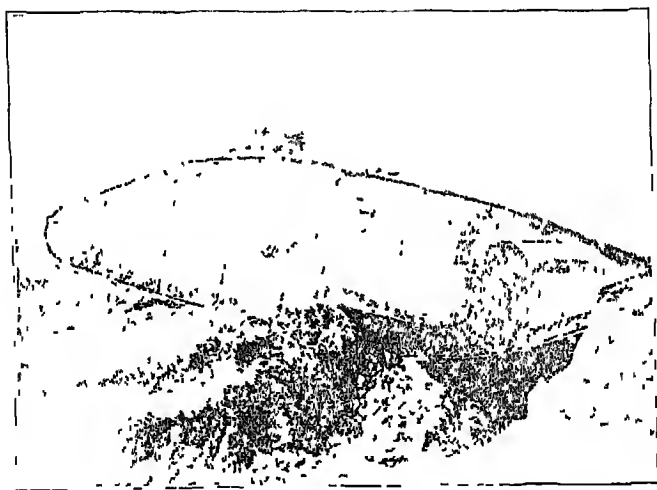
1916. THE TANKS. JUTLAND

By 1916 the Germans had decided that the British were their most dangerous enemies, because it was British wealth and resources that enabled the Allies to prolong the struggle. But the French remained their most important military opponents, and they spent the early part of 1916 in trying to exhaust the French army by repeated attacks on the French lines at Verdun. The offensive involved heavy losses, both French and German, but it failed to exhaust the French.

Later in the year the French and British retaliated by an offensive on the Somme, in which a new military weapon, the tank, was employed. The British, who had adopted conscription at the beginning of the year, had now built up an army as large and effective as that of a continental power. So on the western front, after another year of fighting and tremendous losses, no decision was reached. Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had been so successful on the eastern front, were now summoned to take command in the west.

On the eastern front in 1916, Russia, whom the Germans

thought too ill-equipped and disorganised for anything but defence, upset their calculations by a great offensive. This threatened the overthrow of Austria-Hungary, which was also defeated by the Italians in the Isonzo area. These successes of the Allies encouraged Roumania to enter the war on their side. So the Germans had to come to the rescue of Austria. They drove back the Russians and carried out a brilliant campaign against the Roumanians, half of whose country, with its valuable supplies of corn and oil was left in the hands of the enemy.



THE GREAT WAR, 1914-18

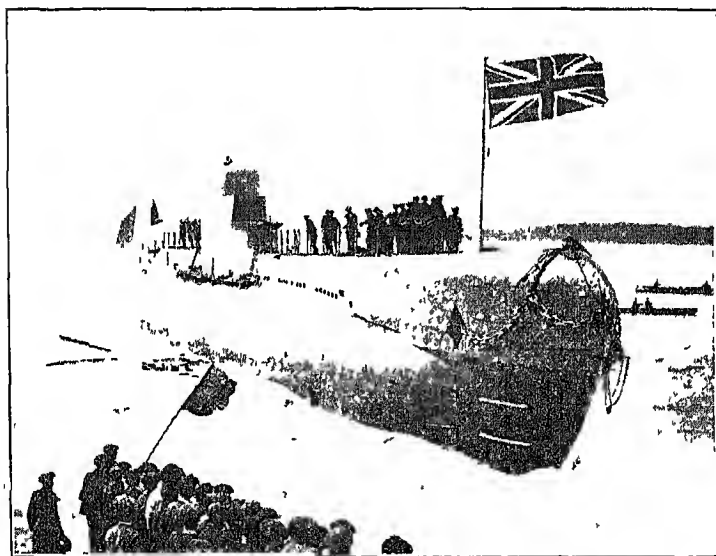
A Tank crossing a trench Battle of Cambrai, March 1917

At sea a battle was fought off Jutland. Early in the war German commerce had been driven off the sea, and the British navy had been used to seize German colonies. But there had been no important naval action. The German fleet remained shut in the Kiel Canal and the main object of the commanders of the British navy was to preserve from destruction their great battleships, the existence of which was enough to give Britain command of the sea, and the loss of which would have meant defeat in the whole war. In the Battle of Jutland (May 1916) both British and Germans claimed a victory, but the fact that

the German fleet once more retired into the Kiel Canal, while the British retained command of the sea seems to show on which side the advantage actually lay

1917 THE SUBMARINE CAMPAIGN AMERICA

The Germans were now becoming afraid that they would be defeated by superior British resources. In 1917 they attempted no great offensive on the western front, but determined to



"Topical" Press Agency Ltd
SUBMARINE "PERSEUS"

try to destroy British shipping by an unrestricted submarine campaign. This was almost certain to lead to war with America. The United States had already been made hostile to Germany by the attacks of submarines upon neutral as well as Allied shipping, and especially by the sinking of the "Lusitania" (1915). But the Germans hoped to starve the British into surrender before the Americans had had time to organise their army and put it into the field.

German trust in the decisive effect of their submarines proved to be misplaced. The British had to ration food, but

On the eastern front the main course of events was disastrous. In Russia a revolution had broken out, and was followed by the demoralisation of the army, and finally, when the Bolshevik regime was established, by a separate peace (1918). The collapse of the Russians enabled Germany to send reinforcements to the Italian front, and the Italians were defeated at Caporetto. Further afield the Allies were successful, for Mesopotamia was conquered from the Turks, and Allenby invaded Palestine, occupying Jerusalem at the end of the year, after a brilliant campaign.

1918 THE VICTORY OF THE ALLIES

The earlier months of 1918 were the most dangerous period of the war for the Allies. Allied resources were becoming exhausted, and the Americans were not yet in the field. The British government, which had been under the leadership of Mr Lloyd George since the end of 1916, did not agree with Haig's policy of spending the British forces in vain attempts to smash the German lines. The British and French commanders were not united. And the German commander, Ludendorff, aware that Germany was exhausted and that her government was breaking down, was risking everything on a series of great offensives, which he regarded as his last chance of gaining victory.

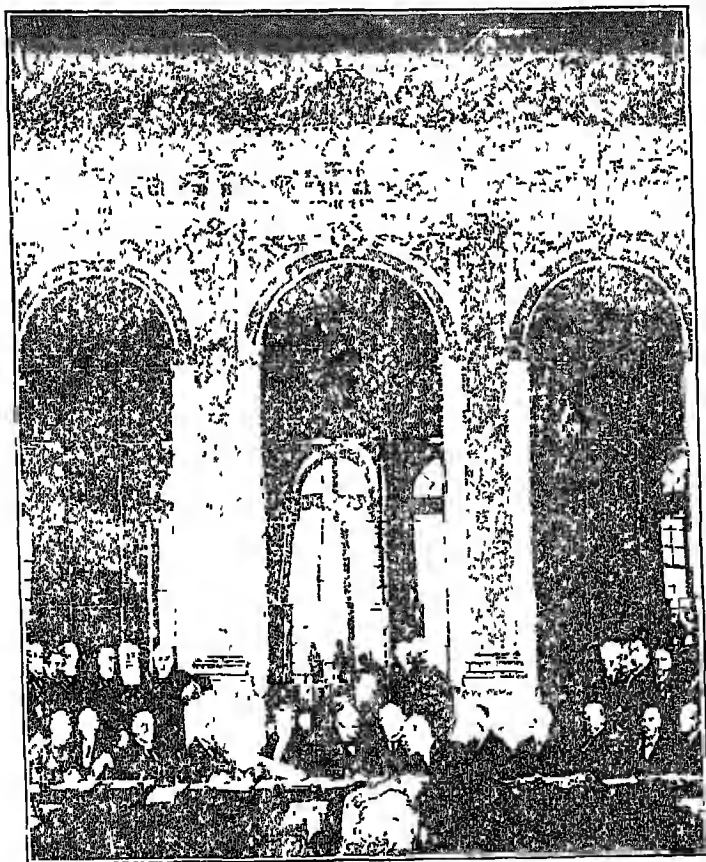
Ludendorff's principal attack was made against the British on the Somme, and the Allies were steadily driven back. In another attack on the French, the Germans reached the Marne, from which they had been driven in 1914. In this crisis the French Marshal Foch was given command of the Allied armies. American troops were beginning to arrive in large numbers, and in July Foch launched a counter-offensive, which drove the Germans steadily back until, in September, the Hindenburg Line was crossed.

Events on the eastern front now began to be decisive. Bulgaria surrendered to an allied offensive, and the Italians routed the Austrians at Vittorio Veneto. Austria collapsed, and Turkey was forced to surrender by the advance of Allenby, who, having destroyed the Turkish army in Palestine, invaded Syria and took Damascus. These combined disasters, and then reverses on the western front were too much for the German commanders, who knew that their own country was falling into

disorder behind them Ludendorff resigned, and on November 11th an Armistice was signed

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

When the Allies met in Paris to arrange the terms of peace, their task was complicated by the enormous number of questions that must be decided with as little delay as possible, and by the large number of nations whose interests had to be considered



Imperial War Museum

THE SIGNING OF PEACE IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES,
28TH JUNE, 1919

Nominally all the Allied nations united in making the peace settlement. Actually the final decisions lay with the representatives of the most important Allied powers: the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy. America was represented by President Wilson, and the European powers by their Prime Ministers: Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando.

The difficulties that faced the peace conference were tremendous. The European system had broken down under the strain of the war, and Europe was undergoing a wave of revolutions. In Russia the Bolsheviks were still struggling to establish their government. In Germany the Kaiser had abdicated, and a democratic republic had been established under Ebert, but the new government was not yet very firmly seated. The Austrian empire had fallen to pieces, and the different races which had been included in it were clamouring for independence. Turkey was in a similar condition. Poland, which had been divided between Russia, Austria, and Germany, had once more come to life. If the Allies had wanted to restore the old order of things they could only have done so by force. But the business of establishing a new order raised many difficult questions.

THE AIMS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

There was a good deal of confusion as to what kind of a peace was to be made. The American President, Wilson, whose detachment from European affairs made him able to view the situation more calmly than Europeans, saw the wisdom of a moderate settlement that would not leave behind it war-producing grievances. He wanted the establishment of a "League of Nations," which would provide an international organisation for the peaceful settlement of world affairs. He also supported the establishment of national governments in Poland and in the states which had been under the rule of Austria-Hungary. As a result, the "Fourteen Points," in which his policy was laid down, were a rather complicated mixture of nationalism and internationalism.

Wilson's wise desire for a moderate settlement conflicted with the French determination to disarm and crush Germany as far as possible. England wanted to steer a course somewhere between the French and the American one. She was not interested in taking territory from Germany in Europe, nor in crushing her

permanently. But the English people, angered by the war, and especially by the submarine campaign, were in no mood for a really wise and moderate peace. They wanted to punish the Germans by exacting heavy reparations from them, and they refused to believe the economic experts who told them that this could not be done without throwing international trade and finance into confusion.

The final settlement was a compromise between the differing views of those who made it. Wilson could not force upon Europe the moderate policy he desired, but he did manage to bring the League of Nations into existence. Clemenceau and the French did not obtain the Rhine frontier they desired, but they succeeded in disarming Germany for years, and inflicting great humiliations upon her. Lloyd George, who did good work in reconciling French and American differences, was compelled by English public opinion to push forward a disastrous policy of exacting reparations, in which he himself did not believe.

The settlement was achieved by a series of peace treaties: the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria, and the Treaty of Sévres with Turkey. Many of the new boundaries were left to be settled by agreement between the states concerned.

GERMAN DISARMAMENT THE LEAGUE REPARATIONS

Germany had been obliged by the terms of the armistice to hand over her fleet, guns, and aeroplanes to the Allies. The fleet was scuttled by its officers, rather to the relief of the Allies, who knew that the task of dividing it up would lead to new disputes. The defeated powers were not permitted to re-arm, but only to maintain small armies to keep order at home. The excuse put forward for this was that there was to be a general disarmament of all the powers, but this did not take place.

A League of Nations was established, but the Allies would not consent to give it an army. Therefore, its influence in enforcing international decisions could only be a moral one, and depended upon the support of the great powers. At first the defeated nations were excluded from it, and it was a League of the Allied powers alone. Russia was excluded because of Allied opposition to the Bolshevik régime. America, where Wilson's

policy failed to obtain support, refused to join at all. The League, as constituted by the treaties, provided the framework for an international organisation, which might be developed later.

The Allies determined to exact reparations from Germany, but the amount was left undetermined. To counterbalance the destruction of Allied shipping during the war the Germans had to surrender their merchant fleet. The reparations question remained an unsettling influence in European politics for years.

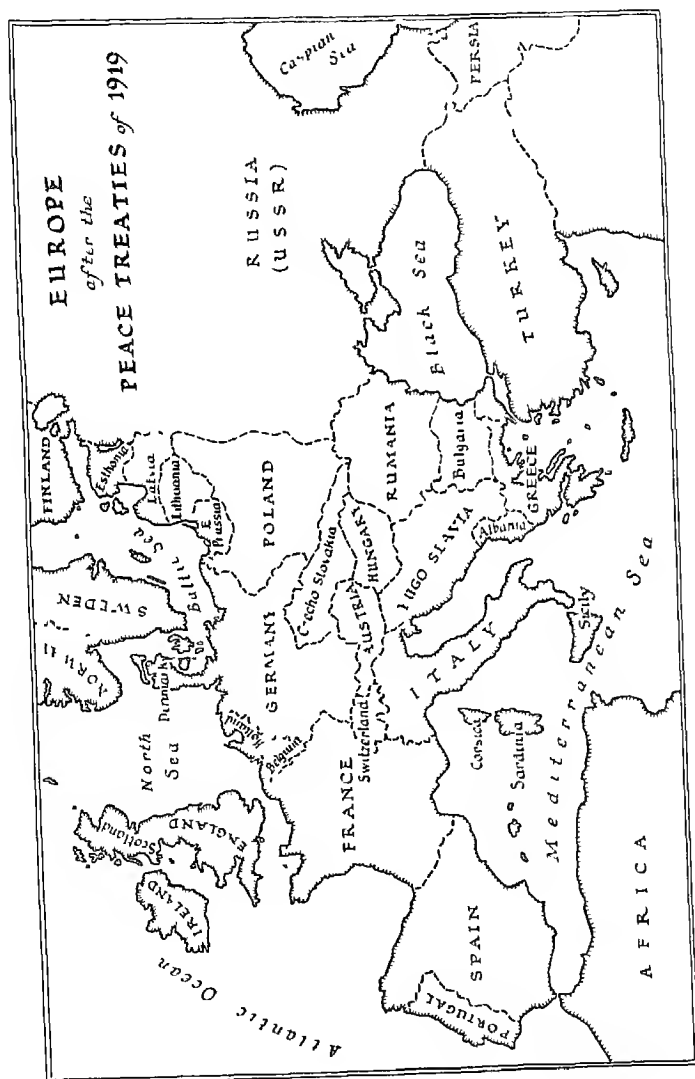
TERRITORIAL CHANGES

The treaties made many territorial changes. Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France, which also received the Saar valley, with its coalfields, for a period of fifteen years. On the east of Germany, Poland, which had been partitioned between Russia, Prussia, and Austria in the eighteenth century, was restored to independence. Between Poland and the sea lay East Prussia, so, to give Poland an outlet to the Baltic, the port of Danzig on that sea was made a Free City, under the protection of the League of Nations, and East Prussia was cut in two by a "Polish corridor" between Danzig and Poland. Poland formed one of a barrier of states erected between Germany and Russia, the others to the north being the small Baltic states of Finland, Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia.

No attempt was made to reconstitute the Austro-Hungarian empire, which had fallen to pieces. Part of its territories went to form the new state of Czecho-Slovakia, and other parts were united with Serbia under the name of Jugo-Slavia. Hungary, much reduced in size, became independent. Austria, with part of the Tyrol cut off from her and given to Italy, became a small state with a great capital, Vienna, and industries too large for her existing population to support. Though German in race, she was forbidden to unite with Germany.

The German colonies were divided among the Allies, Britain receiving German South-west Africa, and German East Africa (Tanganyika). From Turkey Great Britain obtained Iraq (Mesopotamia), and Palestine. Germany was left entirely without colonies, a situation sure to produce a lasting grievance. In accordance with the new ideas of internationalism, the division of colonies was made in the name of the League of Nations.

The powers were to administer them by the League's "mandate," in accordance with certain conditions, laid down for the protection of native races



CHAPTER LVI

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENTS

WAR-TIME ORGANISATION AND STATE "PLANNING"

During the war, the national life of England had been deeply affected by the need to organise all the country's resources for the struggle. For the time, political parties set their differences aside. Asquith formed a Coalition government (1915), in which all parties were represented. At the end of 1916 Asquith was replaced as Prime Minister by Lloyd George, who felt that a more drastic policy, and more complete abandonment of traditional methods were necessary.

The whole energy of the nation was employed, not only in maintaining the great army needed in France, but in organising industry at home to supply it with munitions, and with its other necessities. Ships were built in large numbers to replace those destroyed by the German submarine campaign. Food had to be rationed, although none of the Allied powers suffered so severely from lack of food as did their enemies. Not only in the control of industry but in all branches of national life, government interference and control were necessary, with the result that people became accustomed to it, and since the war little has been heard of the individualist spirit of the nineteenth century.

The most important schools of political thought are now the Socialist one, which wants the State to control and organise industry, and the Conservative one, which wants industry to be left under private control, subjected to a good deal of state direction or "planning." There is a general feeling that modern industrial development has become too complicated to be left altogether to the competition of individuals. The weakness of British producers in face of foreign competition has also been a factor in the demand for state subsidies and protection.

THE COUPON ELECTION. NATIONAL DISCONTENT

As soon as the war was over Allied statesmen had to face the task of making peace. To ensure that they still had the support of the country the Coalition held an election. Its

candidates were chosen from the different parties by a rather arbitrary system of government approval, which caused the contest to be nicknamed the "coupon" election. This caused a good deal of discontent among those who had been omitted from the government's list. When the election was over, the business of peace-making occupied the Prime Minister, and there was little time to spare for home affairs.

Meanwhile the nation was rapidly becoming disoriented. During the long strain of the war, people had looked forward to peace to bring the end of their troubles, and the establishment of a new order of things. Instead, they found themselves faced by all the problems and discomforts of a period of transition. During the war, industry had undergone a tremendous development and transformation to supply the needs of the struggle. Though prices had been high, wages too had risen, and there had been no lack of employment. But, as demobilisation went on, it became more and more difficult to find employment for the returning soldiers. Much of the industrial plant installed during the war was either unnecessary or unsuitable for the demands of peace, and important British industries seemed to have permanently declined. Working people saw their wages threatened, and there were many strikes. At the same time taxation remained heavy, and there was a vigorous demand for reduction in the size of government departments.

The government's foreign policy seemed likely to end in a war with Turkey. The long struggle with Sinn Féin in Ireland had discredited the Coalition, and there was much opposition to the Irish Treaty, and to the grant of Dominion status to the Irish Free State. In 1922, the Conservatives, led by Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Baldwin, revolted against Mr. Lloyd George. The Coalition was broken up, and a Conservative government came into power with Mr. Bonar Law as Prime Minister.

LABOUR GOVERNMENT THE ZINOVIEFF LETTER

The period of Conservative government was a short one, and was principally occupied by the political and economic difficulties caused by attempts to exact reparations from Germany and to effect a settlement concerning the repayment of loans made to the Allies by the United States during the war. England was getting nothing out of "repairs," and was burdened by heavy

taxation for the payment of "war debts." The problem of transferring vast sums of money from one nation to another was upsetting the money-systems of the world, and adding tremendously to the economic depression that followed the war. Meanwhile British industries were declining, and unemployment was increasing. After seven months of government Mr. Bonar Law died, and was succeeded as Prime Minister by Mr. Baldwin. Baldwin surprised the country by reviving the pre-war tariff policy of the Conservatives, and declaring that prosperity could not be restored without the protection of industries. This involved the defeat of the Conservatives in the general election, and a Labour government came into power under the leadership of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald (1923).

The election had been fought over Free Trade and the successful Liberal and Labour Free Traders outnumbered the Conservatives. Of the two the Labour party was the more numerous, so a Labour government came into power for the first time, but it was in a very precarious position. Only Liberal support saved it from being defeated by the Conservatives, and the Liberal and Labour programme were not the same, nor did the two parties come to any agreement which would enable them to work together. In such a position the Labour government could do little.

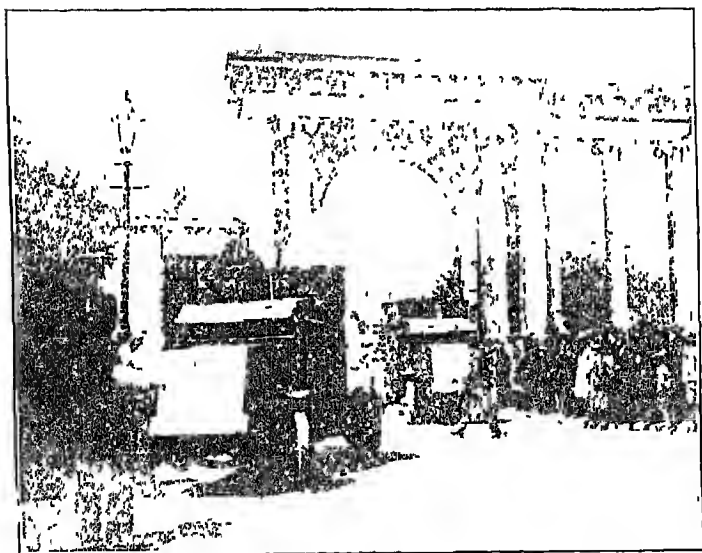
National feeling against the Bolsheviks made its rather wavering negotiations with Russia suspect, and this led to a demand for an official enquiry when the prosecution of a Communist named Campbell, was stopped. When Mr. MacDonald appealed to the country, the Russian scare was at its height. Publication of the "Zinovieff Letter"—a letter from the Communist International to the British Communist party, advocating revolutionary measures—carried great weight with the electors. This completed the effect of its already unpopular Russian policy in causing the government to be defeated.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

The Conservative government of Baldwin (1924-1929) had abandoned the attempt to force any general measure of protection on an unwilling nation, though measures were passed for "safeguarding" certain industries. Its chief financial achievement was a return to the "gold standard," which meant that

the value of English money was raised by being once more brought into its former relation with that of gold (1925). Mr Churchill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, intended this measure to improve British credit, but it also had the effect of hampering the export trade by setting the value of British money above that of most foreign countries. This meant that British manufacturers must either drop the price of their goods, or find that their prices were higher than those of their foreign competitors.

The increased difficulty of trading threatened coal-exports, and



THE GENERAL STRIKE ARMOURD CARS ESCORT FOOD SUPPLIES

led to an attempt either to decrease wages, or to lengthen hours in the mines. The result was a prolonged dispute, which developed in a coal-strike (1926). The Trade Unions, which supported the miners, then decided to call a General Strike, a method which had not been tried before, and which, if continued, must, by breaking down all national services, either coerce the government into giving way, or cause a revolution. The union leaders certainly did not contemplate revolution, and the General Strike (May 4th—12th, 1926) was carried on in an orderly fashion that greatly surprised foreign countries. Though

temporary transport services were arranged, the national stocks of provisions were rapidly becoming exhausted, and before the end of the strike, the situation was growing serious. The unions, which had no wish to change an industrial struggle into a revolutionary movement, accepted the government's terms, though the miners continued to hold out till the middle of November.

In 1927 an Act was passed which forbade attempts to coerce the community by strikes, made it illegal for one union to strike in support of another, and limited rights of picketing and of levying political contributions from union members. In 1928 the government passed a measure for "de-rating," which relieved agriculture altogether, and industry partially, from the burden of rates, and made up the loss to local authorities by grants from the Exchequer. In 1929 a Local Government Act unified Poor Law Administration by placing it under the control of County and Borough Councils, whose "Public Assistance Committees" was to replace the local Boards of Guardians.

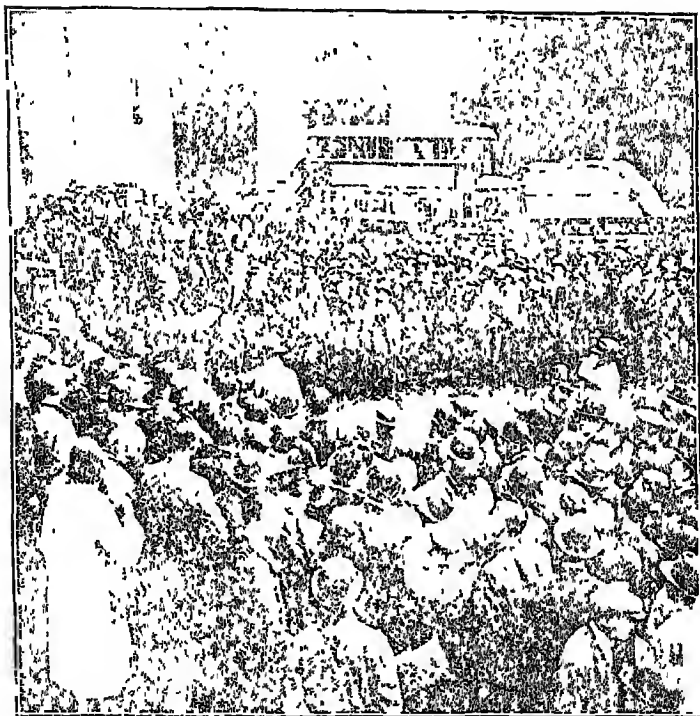
ECONOMIC DEPRESSION THE "NATIONAL GOVERNMENT"

Meanwhile the industrial depression continued and unemployment, especially in certain areas, had reached proportions unknown before. A system of unemployment insurance, nicknamed the "dole," kept the unemployed from actual starvation. The country was discontented, and inclined for a change of government, and the Trade Unions had been angered by the Trades Disputes Act. In 1929 another Labour government, under Mr MacDonald, came into power, for the Liberal party, left as a middle party between Conservative and Socialist extremes, found their Parliamentary numbers steadily decreasing.

Again the Labour party lacked a clear majority, and had to depend upon Liberal support. Its position was also made more difficult by a financial crisis in the United States of America (1929), followed by a world depression that made the industrial situation worse than ever. The Unemployment Insurance Fund was insolvent, it was almost impossible to balance budgets, and in 1931 a financial crisis arose. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Snowden, demanded swamping economies, but many of his colleagues advocated a policy of borrowing.

increased unemployment pay, and an attempt to restore trade by increasing spending capacity. Foreign nations became alarmed, borrowing became impossible, and foreign gold was rapidly withdrawn from England.

The split in the Labour Cabinet continued, so Mr MacDonald and his supporters united with members of the other parties to



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READING PROCLAMATION OF DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT FROM STEPS OF ROYAL EXCHANGE, 1931.

form a "National Government" to deal with the crisis. They obtained an overwhelming majority in the country (1931). The new government eased the situation of foreign trade by abandoning the "gold-standard," so that British prices could compete with continental ones (1931). It also imposed a tariff upon

imports (1932), so the traditional British policy of Free Trade was at last abandoned

RUSSIAN BOLSHEVISM EUROPEAN DESPOTISM

The end of the war left Europe in a confusion which the peace treaties could only partially bring to an end. Though it was possible to divide up the territories of the fallen Austrian and Turkish empires to make new states, and to fix boundaries, the strain of war had shaken or destroyed the governments of the European nations, and had left a legacy of revolution and internal disorder.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian monarchy had seemed to be one of the strongest in Europe. But the disasters of the Crimean War had shown the corruption and inefficiency of the government. During the second half of the century there was a growing demand for reform, which stern repression helped to make revolutionary. In the early years of the twentieth century, Nicholas II made a show of establishing constitutional government, but the Russian "Duma," or Parliament, was really powerless.

The Great War exposed the worst defects of Russian despotism. In 1917 the disorganisation of the government led to a revolution. The Czar abdicated, and after a short period of moderate rule, the Bolsheviks, or Communists, came into power under the leadership of Lenin. Lenin established a new kind of despotism in Russia. In theory power was to be in the hands of the working-class and all the results of their labours were to be divided among them. But the task of bringing about this state of things was to be left to the leaders of the Communist party, who were to have supreme authority as a "dictatorship of the proletariat." Throughout the country political power was concentrated in the hands of the Communist party.

The result of the Russian experiment is still to be seen, but in establishing itself and putting down opposition the Bolshevik government carried out a campaign of violence and terror that shocked Europe. Also its avowed policy of stirring up revolution in other countries alarmed European governments, and left Russia for some time in the position of an outlaw country. But, with the passage of time, and the realisation of its own difficulties, the new government became less violent, and European opinion

became more impressed by its achievements. The terror of Communism that spread through Europe after the Russian revolution gave rise to another form of despotism, also established by violence. This was the Fascist régime established in Italy (1922), and imitated later by the Nazis, who took control of Germany in 1933.

THE NEAR EAST

In the Near East the Great War was followed by a war between the Greeks and the Turks, in which the Greeks had the support of the Allies, whose troops occupied Constantinople. The Greeks occupied Smyrna in Asia Minor and overran Eastern Thrace. In 1919 the Allies made peace with Turkey in the Treaty of Sévres (1919), which gave some Turkish territory to Greece, and arranged for Greek, French, and Italian spheres of influence in Asia Minor.

But this attempt to complete the division of Turkey failed, for the Turks, who had lost so much territory through the nationalist movements of their subjects, were at last having a nationalist movement of their own, led by Mustapha Kemal. A new Turkish capital was established at Angora, and the Greeks were driven out of Asia Minor. Constantinople remained in the hands of the Allies, but Mr Lloyd George's announcement that the Turks were not to be permitted to regain control of the Dardanelles, led immediately to a Turkish attack upon the Allied troops at Chanak (1922). The French and Italians at once withdrew, and the British, unwilling to undertake war against Turkey alone, united with them in peace negotiations. By the Peace of Lausanne (1923), the Turks regained Constantinople and then control of Asia Minor was recognised. Kemal then began the reorganisation of his country on western lines. In 1926 more trouble between Britain and Turkey was narrowly avoided over the question of Mosul.

WAR DEBTS AND REPARATIONS

Meanwhile France was trying to exact reparations from Germany by force. The war had left the Germans disorganised and starving, and as the Allies did not end their blockade till the peace treaty had been signed, this state of things continued till the middle of 1919. The new Republican government was under

enormous difficulties, and the Allies were faced by the task of exacting reparations from them' the amount of which had at last been fixed at £6,000,000,000 in 1921

Economists had from the first predicted that the exaction of reparations would prove impossible, because of the difficulty of finding any means of transferring such vast sums from one country to another. To pay it over in gold would have exhausted the gold supplies needed for international trade. Allied countries would not admit huge quantities of German goods, which would have swamped their own industries and trade. But neither statesmen nor nations would be convinced.

In 1923 the French and Belgians, in spite of British opposition, occupied the German industrial district of the Ruhr, in the hope of obtaining reparation by working the industries for their own benefit. The result was disastrous. The French did not succeed in obtaining anything from the Ruhr, whose inhabitants began a campaign of passive resistance. The occupation was not only expensive and dangerous, but it led to the complete breakdown of the German financial system. German bankruptcy was followed by financial disorder in France.

There followed a long period during which war-debts and reparations upset the money systems and trade of the world. In 1924 the Ruhr was evacuated, and schemes for German payment, the Dawes plan and the Young plan, followed each other in the attempt to solve the reparations questions. On the other hand the Allies continued negotiations over the repayment of their war-debt to America. This, they argued, ought to depend on the possibility of exacting reparations from Germany, but the Americans refused to admit any connection between the two liabilities.

In the end a peculiar situation arose, in which "creditor" countries were lending "debtor" countries the money with which their debts were being paid. This continued till a financial crisis in the United States (1929) ended American lending, and Germany, after attempts to borrow money elsewhere to cover her liabilities, collapsed in 1931. In Britain the crisis of 1931 followed, and the general confusion led to the virtual cancelling of reparations by the Conference of Lausanne (1932). The United States continued to insist on repayment, but France made no attempt to comply, and in 1932 Great Britain was obliged to default.

In the midst of the financial disorder and industrial depression caused by war-debts and reparations, nations were trying to achieve a private prosperity of their own by developing their own industries and raising heavy tariff barriers against goods from other countries. Great Britain, whose free-trading economists predicted that such a policy could only lead to an even greater decline of trade, held aloof from this general tendency until the crisis of 1931, after which she too began to impose tariffs on imports.

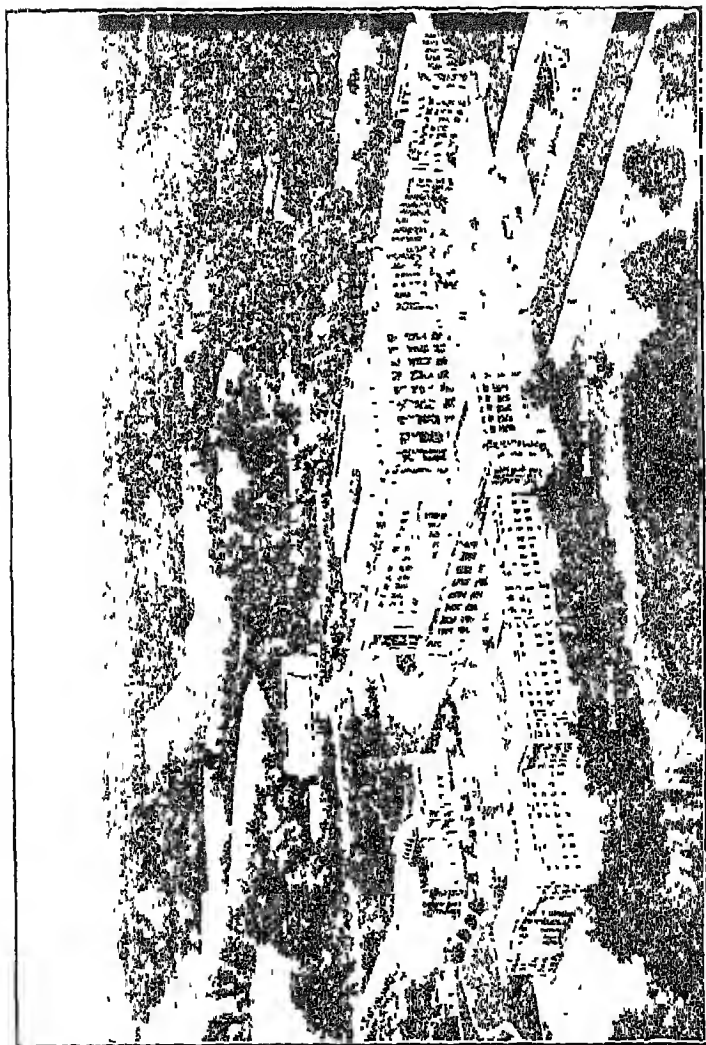
THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Besides reparations and trade, the question that has most closely concerned Europe since the war has been the maintenance of peace. The League of Nations, set up by the peace treaty, has had a chequered career. It has proved useful as a means of dealing with questions of international importance, such as the drug traffic. Also with the entry of Germany (1926) it ceased to be the organ of the victorious powers alone. But it has been weakened by later desertions.

The League has not been very successful in securing a settlement of international disputes, and so avoiding war. The tendency is for nations to leave it altogether when they feel that its decisions interfere with their interests. No satisfactory way of bringing pressure to bear upon those who go to war in spite of it has yet been evolved.

Another attempt to prevent war has been by means of disarmament conferences, but these have had little result. The failure of other countries to disarm led Germany to claim the right to re-arm herself, which she has done under the Hitler government. Other countries have followed the German example in adding to their armaments.

Another method of attempting to keep the peace has been by agreement between various powers. In 1925 the Locarno Treaty between France, Britain, Germany, Italy, and Belgium was signed. These powers agreed never to make war on each other, while all were to support any one of them who was attacked by another. Similar treaties were made between France, Germany, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, but Great Britain kept out of these, as it is her policy to avoid engagements in Central Europe.



KEYSTONE

LEAGUE OF NATIONS HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA

In 1928 the powers accepted the "Kellogg Pact," which denounced the use of war, but Britain reserved freedom of action in certain areas, where her interests were specially concerned. In 1933 a "Four Power Pact" to co-operate in maintaining peace was made between Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. But the rearmament of Germany under the Hitler régime, and the Italian war in Abyssinia, have caused much unrest in Europe, and have rendered these peace pacts ineffective.

DOMINION AUTONOMY

During the war the British empire remained firmly united. The self-governing Dominions organised expeditionary forces to fight in France, and India contributed both men and money to the Allied cause. But after the war various imperial problems had to be met: the demand of India for self-government and that of Egypt for independence, and the question of how far the Dominions were free to control their foreign, as well as their domestic, policy.

It had always been understood that, though the Dominions were self-governing, the British Parliament retained control of the foreign policy of the Empire. But in 1922 this view was challenged when the Dominions led by Canada, denied that they had any obligation to give military support to British policy with regard to Turkey. They argued that that policy did not concern them, and they had not been consulted about it.

In 1923 an Imperial Conference was held, and it was agreed that a Dominion should go to war only with the consent of its own Parliament. Also, while the general control of foreign policy was to be left to the British Parliament, a Dominion was itself to undertake foreign negotiations in matters which specially concerned it. This meant that the Dominions were in future not only to control their domestic government, but also, to a large extent, their foreign policy as well. It was not clear how far they were bound to support the foreign policy of Great Britain. Thus the whole question of the relationship between the Dominions and the British government was raised.

After two more Imperial Conferences (1926 and 1930) this question was settled by the Statute of Westminster (1931). It was enacted that the Dominions are "autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate

to each other in their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations" This formula is a very wide one, and wisely leaves it for future experience to decide how the claims of the Dominions to manage their own affairs, both domestic and foreign, can best be reconciled with their union in the British Empire. Such a settlement is in harmony with British constitutional tradition, which leaves institutions to develop and change to suit circumstances, without hampering them by rigid formulas.

EGYPTIAN INDEPENDENCE

In Egypt the effect of the war was to convert the British occupation into a Protectorate. Nominally Egypt had still remained a part of the Turkish empire, and the Egyptian Khedive was the representative of the Sultan of Turkey. If this connection with Turkey had been continued after the Turks entered the war against the Allies, Egypt would have become an enemy state. Turkish suzerainty was abolished, a British protectorate was proclaimed, and the Egyptian Khedive became Sultan of Egypt.

During the war Egypt became increasingly opposed to British rule. When the peace settlement was being made, the Egyptian nationalists, led by Zaghlul Pasha, demanded that Egypt should share in the independence promised to the other subject races of the Turkish Empire by President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." But among the many problems of the peace settlement the Egyptian situation was neglected. Egyptian discontent showed itself in strikes and rioting, which led to the appointment of the Milner Commission to plan the future government of the country.

This Commission was at first boycotted by the Nationalists, but finally Lord Milner came to an agreement with Zaghlul. It was suggested that a treaty between Great Britain and Egypt should be signed, by which the independence of Egypt under a constitutional monarchy should be recognised. Great Britain was to retain the right to control Egyptian foreign affairs, and to maintain a force in Egypt to protect her interests, especially with regard to the Suez Canal.

Unfortunately, this opportunity for a settlement was lost by further delay. The treaty was not made, further Nationalist

outbreaks occurred, and Zaghlul Pasha was deported. The disturbances were suppressed, and the British government at last adopted a conciliatory policy. The independence of Egypt was recognised, but the British government reserved the right to secure communications in Egypt between different parts of the Empire, the right to defend the country against foreign invasion, and to protect foreign residents, and the control of the Sudan.

But since this settlement (1922) was made by British proclamation, and not by a treaty with the Egyptians, the Egyptians did not hold themselves to be bound by it, and demanded control of the Sudan. Egyptian unrest continued, and in 1924 Sir Lee Stack, the Governor-General of the Sudan was murdered in Cairo. Parliamentary government was suspended, and there followed a long series of attempts to reach a final settlement.

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN SELF-GOVERNMENT

Since the war Indian government, too, has been an important problem. In 1917 Mr. Montagu, the Secretary for India, laid down the principles of future British policy in India in a speech in the House of Commons. This policy was to be not only "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, but also the greatest possible development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire."

Indian Nationalists paid more attention to the promise of responsible government, which they interpreted as meaning that India was to have Dominion status, than to Mr. Montagu's qualification of it. He had stated that the change in the position of India was to be made gradually, and as the British government might think wise.

After the war Indian Nationalists began a violent campaign for self-government. To deal with this the government passed the Rowlatt Acts which gave it special powers to deal with violent sedition. The Act proved to be unwise. It aroused so much feeling that it had to be withdrawn, and its withdrawal was interpreted as a sign of weakness. The campaign of violence was now accompanied by one of passive resistance to British rule, led by Mr. Ghandi, who had obtained great influence over India as a social and religious reformer.

In 1919 an unfortunate incident occurred at Amritsar, in the Punjab, where General Dyer ordered his troops to fire on a mob, with the result that 400 people were killed, and about 1000 wounded. The Hunter Committee, appointed by the government, condemned Dyer's action, and the justice of this decision was much debated in England. The Amritsar incident embittered feeling on both sides, and so hampered the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme for the government of India adopted in 1919.

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was an experiment which was to be revised at the end of ten years. It established in India a system known as "diarchy," by which the work of the Indian Provincial Councils was divided between the Governor and his officials, and Indian members responsible to the Indian electorate. The officials were to deal with "reserved" subjects, such as finance, law, and order, and the Indian ministers with "transferred" subjects, such as public health and education. Indian members were also to be elected to the Central Assembly.

The working of this system depended very much on the spirit in which officials and Indian ministers co-operated with each other, so it was much more successful in some of the Provincial Councils than in others. But the Indians never regarded it as more than a provisional arrangement, and were determined to secure a further measure of self-government in 1929. Mr. Gandhi continued his campaign of boycotting British rule, but most of his followers broke away from this policy, preferring to press their aims forward as a political opposition in the Assembly.

Meanwhile the struggle between Britain and Turkey had caused anti-British feeling among the Mohammedans of India, and had united them with the Hindus against British rule. When Turkey, under Mustapha Kemal, renounced the leadership of the Mohammedan world, this feeling subsided, and the old feud between Mohammedans and Hindus reappeared.

In 1929 the Simon Commission was sent to report upon the government of India. In 1930 the Commission recommended the abolition of "diarchy" in the Provincial Councils, and the transference of all departments of Indian administration to Indian ministers. India was to become a federation of states, but control of the central Executive was to remain in British hands. This "Simon Report" aroused a great deal of opposition in England, since many people felt that it went too far in

the direction of self-government. Also the consent of the Indian princes was necessary for the establishment of an Indian federation, for, in addition to "British India," the Indian Empire includes a great number of "native states," the rights of whose rulers have been guaranteed by Britain.

It was not until 1935 that conferences and discussions ended in the passing of the Government of India Act. This gave the Indian provinces Parliamentary government. Their legislative assemblies were to be elected, and the cabinets of provincial governors were to be chosen from their members. This new system was working before the end of 1937.

The Act also provided for a federation of India, if the rulers of at least half the total population of the native states would agree to join it. Like the provinces, the federal government was to be Parliamentary. But a sufficient number of Indian princes have not yet (1938) agreed to join the federation, so this part of the Act cannot be carried out.

Under the new system the Governor-General of India is still to have control of defence, religious measures, and foreign relations, and both he and the provincial governors can override the will of their ministers in emergencies.

1784-1913

Monarchs

GEORGE III 1760-1820
 WILLIAM IV, 1830-1837
 EDWARD VII, 1901-1910

GEORGE IV, 1820-1830
 VICTORIA, 1837-1901
 GEORGE V, 1910-1936

Munistrines		Gt Britain and Ireland	Enope	British Empire
Pitt (1st), 1783-1801	1784 '86			1784 Pitt's India Act
	'88		1788 Triple Alliance (Britain, Prussia, and Holland) 1789 States General Fall of the Bastille	1787 Convict settlement in New South Wales.
	90		1791 Declaration of Pillnitz	1791 Pitt's Canada Act
	92		1792 Verdun and Valmy and September massacres Execution of Louis XVI	'91-92 2nd Mysore War
	94		1793 <i>Revolutionary War</i> 1794 "Glorious 1st of June"	
1795 Fitzwilliam Episode (Speenhamland "Act")	96		1797 Mutinies at Spithead and the Nore St Vincent and Camperdown	

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Pitt (1st)	'98 1798 Vinegar Hill	1798 Battle of the Nile	1799 3rd Mysore War
Addington, 1801-1804	1800 Act of Union	1799 Marengo and Hohenlinden	1801 Annexation of Carnatic and N W Provinces
		1801 Armed Neutrality and destruction of Danish fleet	1802 Treaty of Bassem
	'02 1803 Emmott's rebellion	1802 <i>Peace of Amiens</i>	1803 2nd Maratha War As-saye, Aargaum, Laswari
Pitt (2nd), 1804-1806		1804 Napoleon, Emperor of the French	
		1805 Trafalgar, Ulm, Austerlitz	
		1806 Jena, Auerstadt, Berlin decree	
" All the Talents, 1806-1807	'06 1806 Death of Pitt and Fox	1807 Eylau Friedland Tilsit Orders in Council Milan decree	1807 Abolition of the slave trade
Portland, 1807-1809		1808 Baylen Vimeiro	
Perceval 1809-1812	08 1808 British and Foreign School Society	1809 Corunna Wagram, Talavera	
		1810 Busaco	
		1811 Almeida	
	1811 National School Society	1812 Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos—Salamanca Borodino — Retreat from Moscow	1812-14 Anglo-American War
Liverpool, 1812-1827	'12		

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gr Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Liverpool			
'14		1813 Lutzen Leipzig 1814 Toulouse of Vienna	1814 { Acquisition of Cape Colony Gurkha War
	1815 Corn Law	{ Hundred Days— Waterloo 1815 { Holy Alliance— Quadruple Alliance	1815 Treaty with Nepal
'16	1816 Suspension of "Habeas Corpus"		
	1817 The "Blanketeers"		1817-18 3rd Maratha War Korki Sitabaldi Asti Mahidpur
'18		1818 Congress of Aix-la- Chapelle	1818 { Treaties with Marathas and Rajputs Canadian frontier fixed
'20	1819 { "Peterloo" — "Six Acts" Peel's Factory Act		
	1820 { Cato St Conspiracy The Queen's Divorce	1820 { Congress of Troppau Greek revolt	
	1821 Disfranchisement of Crampound		
22	1823 Catholic Association	1822 Congress of Verona	1823 Monroe doctrine
24	1824-5 Repeal of Combina- tion Laws		1824-6 1st Burmese War

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Liverpool			
	1825 Completion of Stockton-Darlington railway		1824 South American independence recognised by Canning
'26		1827 Battle of Navarino	1826 Settlement at Brisbane (Queensland)
Canning, 1827			
Wellington, 1828-1830	1828 Repeal of Test and Corporation Acts	1829 Treaty of Adrianople	1829 Settlement in Western Australia
	1829 Catholic Emancipation Metropolitan police force		
'30		1830 "July Revolution" Belgian revolt	
Grey, 1830-1834			
	1832 1st Reform Act	1833 Treaty of Unkiar-Skalessi	1833 India Act
	1833 Althorp's Factory Act — 1st grant for education—Abolition of slavery		
'34	1834 Poor Law Amendment Act Tamworth Manifesto	1834 Quadruple Alliance	1834 Settlement in Victoria Settlement in South Australia
Peel (1st), 1834			
Melbourne, 1834-1841	1835 Municipal Corporations Act		
'36			1836 "Great Trek" began 1837 Canadian rebellion

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Melbourne	1838 (Anti-Corn Law League) 1839 (People's Charter) 1839 Bedchamber Question	1839 Belgian independence and neutrality acknowledged	1839 { 1st Chinese War 1st Afghan War Durham report 1840 Annexation of New Zealand 1841 Canada Act 1842 Khyber Pass disaster 1843 { Annexation of Sindh (Annexation of Natal) 1845-6 1st Sikh War 1846 Oregon settlement
Peel (2nd), 1841-1846	1844 Bank Charter Act	1841 Convention of the Straits	
Russell (1st), 1846-1852	1846 { Irish Famine Repeal of the Corn Laws 1848 Chartist petition	1846 The Spanish Marriages 1848 { "Year of Revolutions" 2nd French Republic	
Derby (1st) 1852 Aberdeen, 1852-1855	1851 "Great Exhibition."	1850 Don Pacifico incident 1851 Louis Napoleon President for life 1852 2nd French Empire	1849 2nd Sikh War Annexation of the Punjab 1852 { 2nd Burmese War Federation of New Zealand Sand River Convention

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gr Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Aberdeen	'54	1853 Sinope <i>Crimean War</i> 1854 Alma — Balaklava — Inkerman	1854 Self-government granted to New South Wales, Victoria, South Aus- tralia and Tasmania
Palmerston (1st), 1855-1858	'56	1856 Treaty of Paris	1857-8 Indian Mutiny 1858 (India Act (2nd Chinese War
Derby (2nd), 1858-1859	'58	1859 Magenta—Solferino	
Palmerston (2nd) 1859-1865	'60	1860 Garibaldi's conquest of Naples and Sicily	1860-5 American Civil War
	'62	1864 Schleswig-Holstein dis- pute	
Russell (2nd) 1865-1866	'64	1866 Austro-Prussian War Sadowa	
Derby (3rd), 1866-1868	'66		1867 British North America Act
	1867 2nd Reform Act		
Disraeli (1st), 1868	1868		
Gladstone (1st), 1868-1874	'70	1870-1. { Franco-Prussian War Sedan	1869 Completion of Suez Canal

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Gladstone	1870 (Forster's Education Act) 1871 Local Government Board '72 1873 Home Rule League '74 Disraeli (2nd), 1874-1880 1875 Public Health Act Artisans' Dwellings Act Employers and Workmen's Act 1876 Merchant Shipping Act 76	1870-1 Completion of German and Italian unity 1878 Treaty of San Stefano Congress and Treaty of Berlin 1879 Dual Alliance 1882 Triple Alliance	1872 'Alabama' dispute settled 1875 Gt Britain obtained control of Suez Canal 1877 Queen Victoria, Empress of India Annexation of the Transvaal Zulu Wars 1878-80 2nd Afghan War 1879 Dual control of Egypt 1881 Mapuba—Independence of the Transvaal 1882 Tel-el-Kebir—British occupation of Egypt 1885 Annexation of Bechuanaland
Gladstone (2nd), 1880-1885	1878 Factories and Workshops Act 1879 Irish Land League 1881 2nd Irish Land Act '82 1882 Phoenix Park murders '84 1884 3rd Reform Act Salisbury (1st) 1885-1886		

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Salisbury			Khartoum — Evacua- of Sudan { 1885 Pendjeh incident—In- dian National Con- gress (Canadian Pacific Rly (Royal Niger Company 1886 1888 South African Company
Gladstone (3rd), 86	'86 1st Gladstone Home Rule Bill		1893 British protectorate of Uganda
Salisbury (2nd), 1886-1892	'88 1888 County Councils Act '90 '92		1894 Protectorate of British East Africa Annexation of Rhode- sia
Gladstone (4th) 1892-1894	'94 1894 Rural and Urban Coun- cils Act		1895 Jameson raid
Rosebery, 1894-5		1896 Franco-Russian Alli- ance	1898 Ondurman—Fashoda 1899-1902 Boer War
Salisbury (3rd) 1895-1902	96		1899 Nigeria protectorate Boxer rebellion 1900 { Australian Common- wealth Act
	'98		1902 Anglo-Japanese Alli- ance
	1900		
		1901 Taff Vale Judgment 1902 Balfour Education Act	
Balfour, 1902-5	'02		

<i>Ministries</i>	<i>Gt Britain and Ireland</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>British Empire</i>
Balfour	1903 Beginning of Tariff controversy		
Campbell-Bannerman, 1905-1908	'04 1906 Trades Disputes Act Labour Party in Com- mons	1904 Anglo-French Entente 1906 Algeiras Conference	
Asquith, 1908-1915	'08 1908 Old Age Pensions Act 1909 Osborne Judgment	1907 Triple Entente	1909 (Morley-Minto reforms {South African Union
	'10 1911 (Parliament Act {Health Insurance Act	1911 Agadir crisis	
	'12	1912 1st Balkan War 1913 2nd Balkan War	

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